

▲本館開設在前門外延壽寺街三十號

電話局南四千七百七十一號

◀ 第七一六號 ▶

◀ 第一八六十六號 ▶

◀ 今日出三張 ▶

告白價目

均用五號字以半字起
刊費先付事關詞密
另議商標圖樣按圖所
占地位計算篇幅短期
刊費概不退還封而照
價加倍

支收大洋一元四角
至七日每字八釐△八
日至十 日每字五釐
△十六日至一月每字
三厘△一季九五折半
年九折全年八折

本報發行部啓事

送石驕馬大街西口松茂號南華街英華公司花胡同北新書局
 安市馬路新智書社佩文齋華英書局及師大北新書局
 一二院北大西齋書院號民大浩費社楊梅竹斜街世界書局
 寶蓋華樓華盛書社等處惟附數無多不閱求速購爲荷

中國國民黨陸軍軍官學校啓事

敝校將改組爲一國民革命軍中央軍事政治學校，凡在本國或外國軍事學校畢業，有專門學術及經驗而爲中國國民黨黨員或表同情於本黨者，由黨員三人以上之介紹，並填明本人履歷及詳細意見，通函郵局掛號寄來，經審查合格後，即當電召到校候用。詳細情形，祈至翠花胡同八號接洽。注意：欲詢問詳細情形，祈至翠花胡同八號接洽。

國立廣州中山大學附屬中學在京招女學生

(四) 報名及考試地點 東四汪芝 清明中學

綏遠全區職業專門學校招考農科插班生

資 格 址 期
 初級中學及前期師範畢業或舊制
 中學及師範修業三年以上與
 歸綏城南文廟街
校 期
 自登報之日起應考者攜帶證書像片至
 本校報名隨到隨考錄取者即入校上課
贈送書報廣告
 世界潮流日趨發達吾人若欲適應時代之中大有朝不保夕之憂敬社愛本公司
 十二分寄上海開平路一百六十一號中華同濟社印
 即送即奉贈月報並北平出版之各書此啓
 中華同濟社印

永昌洋行廣告

敬啓者本行自由歐美運來大小鋼鐵花床定做各樣西式上等棹椅飯廳客廳臥房成堂傢俱樓梯地毯墊美國床單子印度大小床單子洋棉花德國全分刀各色漆布各樣花布寫字椅子鑲絲各樣等貨俱全
開設崇文門內大街路東門牌十三號 電話東門一三三號

中華交通學社出版

交通週報

第七期目錄

改造思想與發展交通（續五期）
我國近五十年來之航業概況
青雨 王沈

近世汽車事業之遠及其收來之趨機武少文
鄭州稿之幸運與險逆
露雲

本報定報及通信處：北京交通大學轉中華
社報價：每份零售銅元四枚全年四毛

者本公司備足資本一百萬圓專保人壽水火
京局廣告

華通商行
新年贈品
本行開辦以來歷蒙各界光顧
曷勝榮幸茲定於丙寅年
新正開市日起至二月十日
爲止凡購滿五元以上者
均分別贈品以酬惠顧雅意
本行並經售法商東方銀公司儲蓄存單有儲志善者請駕臨
接洽不勝歡迎
崇內東單北總布胡同西口電話東局一四六六

京綏鐵路行車時刻票價表

[illegible]

梅毒龍脂膏
 膏白蠟製就藥毒膏
 風疹疥癩大風濕痛
 瘡癤疔毒一切皮膚
 病瘰癧之能使皮
 膚生肉去毒之功
 每盒一元每打十元
 小瓶洋
 琥珀淋濁丸
 丸專治風火砂石
 魚口便毒餘毒未
 淨便染妻子女婦人
 淫濁
 每盒一元每打十元
 小瓶洋
 陰龍小兒胎毒功清淋
 淋止濁消毒誠國
 每打十元小瓶洋

陽萬紀亮譯
全書分十二章前五章論現實主義後六章論理想主義末章綜論以批評的態度論究複雜結構的現代哲學此部導論頗中肯綮文用語簡潔以批評的態度萬多字加新式標點附號明白陰暢而初學現代哲學者必讀之入門書

京漢鐵路時刻票價簡表

[illegible]

嚮導彙刊預約展期廣告

中國國民黨廣州特別新婦女月刊社啓事

運啓者本刊以宣傳黨義提倡婦女運動力謀女子解放促進
國革命成功唯一宗旨創刊號經於上月出版第二期不日
亦可出版態度鮮明內容豐富對於言論上概取公開歡迎各
界投稿但以研究婦女問題或與女界有密切關係之各固

問題之文字爲範圍茲將第三期徵文題目刊列於後尚祈
熱心婦運動各界人士及我女同胞惠大作以光篇幅
甚一今後女權運動方針

二我之女生敬學法
三我之家事改良意見
四吾鄉之婦女狀況
五本地女工概況及扶植之方法
以上二兩題係去年各受業其個人意見以資討論

題係就作者之家鄉及所在地觀察所得而紀其實憑空結構者幸勿惡奇

中國國民黨黨員高尚啓事

國民革命的南針革命週報出了

命週報是國民黨在北京唯一的中心刊物，他的目的是要「國」黨的主張和黨與民衆利益而無偏的實地介紹給全國民衆以博得一般民衆之了解與同情。二是要指出國民革命的正確途徑，使一般不革命的分分子大體一致工作，特此創舉，聲明二月三十號到零港出版，號數上原註轉致並努力一致工作，特此創舉，聲明二月三十號。

革命的分
子大家
都聯合
一致
攜手
猛力
去前進
發行通
訊處
東城
翠花
胡同
八號
價目
每份
二枚
定於
本星
期六
出版

二省留日學生之歸國
主義團體聯合會所召集之反日俄進兵東省大會
奉天戰線下的奉直勾結
大軍閥所以休矣
國之加入華會條約

短評
秋景
覺今
覺今

俄十月革命的感想
山主義與列寧主義
第一次大會到第二次大會二年間的實際教訓
五州運動到反奉反日
東路事件的內幕
滿鐵職員的薪金
日本對華的借款
胡漢民
陳啓常
守修
景山

石 權才是真正中山主義的信徒
談國家主義

記韓志
享燦烈

國民新報

▲本館開設在前門外延壽寺街三十號

▲郵政總局特准掛號認爲新聞紙類▼

本 報 價 目			
中文	英文	中英 合併	
零售每份 大洋三分	零售每份 大洋五分	零售每份 大洋八分	
埠 外	埠 外	埠 外	
每月大洋八角 半年四元四角 全年八元	每月大洋一元 半年五元五角 全年十元	每月大洋一元五角 半年八元五角 全年十五元	
埠 本	埠 本	埠 本	
每月九角五分 半年五元二角 全年九元五角	每月一元一毛五分 半年六元四角 全年十一元八角	每月大洋一元七角 半年九元七角 全年十七元四角	
歐 美	歐 美	歐 美	
每月一元五角 半年八元五毛 全年十六元	每月大洋一元六角 半年九元一角 全年十七元二角	每月大洋二元三角 半年十三元三角 全年二十四元六角	
以上定價均 先期交足其 拖欠未清者概 按零月計算外 埠匯兌不通郵 費代價九五折 空函恕不答覆 開賬概從陽歷 年節紀念各日 例有休刊日期 概不補寄			

本報發行部啓事

本報十五年月份新刊單及訂定冊數以便閱者起見除由本報總發行外並分
送右開馬大街西口松茂號而華華街英華書局花胡同北新書
局安馬路新新書社佩文齋華英書局師大北第
一二院北大西醫社號居民大消費社楊梅竹斜街世界書局
寶雲華樓盛書社等處惟冊數無多不閱其速購爲荷

中國國民黨陸軍軍官學校啓事

改組爲一部人，凡在本國或外國軍事學科畢業者，由黨員三人以上之介紹，並填明本人履歷及詳細情形，廣寄來，經審查合格後，即當電召到校候用。詳細情形，祈至翠花胡同官學校接洽。注意：欲

國立廣州附屬中學在京招生

(二)報名日期 自即日起
(三)考試日期 三月二十一兩日
(四)報名及考試地點 東門外汪芝蘇胡同 清明中學

緩遠全區職業專門學校插班生

資 校 日
 格 址 期
 中 學 及 師 範 校 業 二 年 上 真
 錄 綴 城 南 文 廟 街
 自 登 報 名 之 日 起 應 考 者 携 帶 証 書 像 片 至
 校 閱 閱 隨 考 錄 取 者 即 入 校 上 課
 贈 送 書 報 廣 告
 世界 潮流 日 趨 變 遷 人 心 亦 隨 變 遷 浪 之 中 大 有 朝 不 保 夕 之 憂 敢 社 愛 公 司
 之 分 支 處 上 海 開 辦 經 銷 各 種 書 報 以 便 諸 君 之 閱 覽 茲 將 本 社 經 銷 之 書 報 列 後
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 逐 期 奉 贈 月 報 並 出 版 之 各 書 此 啓
 華 同 濟 社 印
 華 同 濟 社 印
 華 同 濟 社 印

永昌洋行廣告

敬啓者本行自由歐美運來大小鋼鐵花床定做各樣西式上等棹椅飯廳客廳臥房成堂傢俱樓梯地毯墊墊美國床單子印度大小床單子洋棉花德國全分刀各色漆布各樣花布寫字椅子鑲絲各樣等貨俱全

中華交通學社出版
交通週報
第七期目錄

改改思想與發展交通（續五期）
我國近五十年來之航業概況
近世汽車事業之遷及其收束之趨機武少文
鄭州稿之幸運與險運
本報定報及通信處：北京交通大學轉中華書局
社報價：每份零售銅元四枚全年四毛
郵費在內

福安人壽水火保險公司
京局廣告

啓者本公司屋資一百萬專保人壽水火險總公司設在香港並於驗埠各埠設立分局其信用之靈固賠款之迅速早將天津一分局之營業例行停止至北京分局亦停止至北京分局一律照常營業誠恐各界誤會特此聲明京局仍設煤市街小馬路內有欲投保者至本公司接洽可也電七話南局三四

華通商行
新年贈品

本行並經售法商東方銀公司儲蓄存單有儲志著者請駕臨
接洽不勝歡迎
崇內東單北總布胡同西口電話東局一四六六

京綏鐵路行車時刻票價表

[illegible]

京漢鐵路時刻票價簡表

[illegible]

本週報自第一期至第百五十期分爲三集

化與反帝主義運動之進程者不可不聞每冊實價一元五

中國國民黨廣州特別新婦女月刊社啓事

市執委會婦女部 蔡姓女月上福啓事

問題之文字爲範圍。茲將第三期徵文題目列於

熱心婦運動各界人士及我女同胞惠大作以光篇幅
甚
一今後女權運動方針
二我之女生教學法
三我之家事改良意見
四吾鄉之婦女狀況
五本地女工概況及扶植之方法
以上一二兩題係欲作者發表其個人意見以資討論四五兩題係就作者之家鄉及所在地觀察所得而紀其實憑空結構

中國國民黨黨員高尚啓事

登記現存知南花園一號係假冒本黨名義者該處主謀叛黨之鄒魯謝詩等
由廣州第二次代表大會決議永遠開除黨籍鄒部人難與伍即日脫離該偽鄒
劉榮花胡同八號真正黨部報到並努力一致工作特此鄭重聲明二月三十號

民黨爲民衆利益而奮鬥的事實很懇切地介紹與全國民衆

革命的分
子大家
一致
攜手
前進
同志
贈閱
創刊特
定於本
星期六
出版

省留日學生之歸國首篇語時事

主主義體聯合會所召集之反日俄進兵東省大會
軍閥所以休養條約
十月革命感想
主義與密主義
第一次列強第二次大會二年間的實際教訓
五卅運動到內務部反日
東路事件的反省
黨黨員的分和黨外的話語
是真正中山主義的信徒
國家主義

覺秋景今
胡漢民
陳炯明
景仰修
景仰修
景仰修

▲本館開設在前門外延壽寺街三十號

止雲良藥

琥珀淋濁丸
專治風火砂石血淋赤白二便紅腫刺痛梅
癰疥瘡結核魚口痔漏等症
每盒大洋二角每打大洋二元
大瓶洋一元每打十元小瓶洋五角每打五元

虎標萬金油
此藥功用能清涼止渴消奇毒瘡
凡患小兒疳積者服之立見奇效

陽高紀亮譯
全書分十二章前五章論現實主義後六章論理想主義末章結論以批評的態度論究複雜難雜的現代哲學批評導論中篇有各文用普通直淺約十五萬多字加新式標點符號明白
代售處北京取樣館中華書局

一三五

[illegible]

國民黨之民權主義與共產黨之專制主義
革命軍之分子與反革命軍之分子
定於本星期六出版

東三省留日學生之歸國首篇
國家主義與國際聯盟
蘇俄十月革命之感想
從中主戰派到第二次大會二年間的實際教訓
由五州運動到反奉抗日
中山主義的信徒
中山主義的分和黨外的謠言
中山主義的正統

時事
覺今
秋景
電覽
胡漢民
陳炯明
陸榮廷
岑春煊
岑春煊
岑春煊

同志贈閱
創刊

本報緊要啟事

今日為孫中山先生逝世週年紀念日，本報特出一紀念號，中文部增加特刊三大張，劃報一大張，英文部增加特刊一大張，隨報贈送，不另加價，希讀者特別注意。

又本報因增加特刊及增加份數，印刷甚為困難，今日將第二張新聞暫停一天，明天仍照常出版。

本報特別啟事

本報自出版以來，深受各界人士之歡迎，現已大加擴充，日出版二大張，副刊一張，英文一大張，特由著名學者陳友仁、陳啓修、林玉堂、魯迅、張鳳舉諸先生擔任編輯，所有一切記載，均本諸國民衆之主張，以打破一切惡勢力，實為我國獨一無二之報紙。現分中文英文本報及英派報所接洽為要。

中國國民黨北京特別市黨部公開發求黨員啟事

三月十二日為先總理逝世週年紀念日，已由北京各界在二殿舉行紀念大會，本部為紀念先總理擴大革命勢力，起見，特於三月十三、十四、十五日，在會場公開徵求黨員，凡有志革命者，請至會場徵求，黨員處接洽可也。有志革命者，請速來。

中國國民黨北京特別市黨部緊要通告

三月十二日為先總理逝世週年紀念日，本部特定是日晨九時，舉行全體黨員大會，各同志屆時請齊集太和殿前行禮，以誌哀悼，特此通告。

北京各界紀念孫中山先生逝世週年大會籌備處啟事

本會所有經費，均由各界捐助，不取分文，凡有捐助者，請逕寄本會，或逕寄各捐助機關，均可。近聞有人假冒本會名義，向外募捐，除函請各機關查究外，用特聲明，以免誤會。

緊要啟事

本會籌備紀念大會，業經多日，現已籌備就緒，定於三月十三日（星期日）上午九時，在中山公園舉行紀念大會，屆時請各界代表參加。如左：第一日（十二日）上午九時，各界代表在中山公園集合，下午一時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會。第二日（十三日）上午九時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會，下午一時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會。第三日（十四日）上午九時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會，下午一時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會。

全國國民會議促成會聯合總會啟事

本會鑒於時局需要，決定擴大工作，除已發宣言外，並決定於三月十三日（星期日）上午九時，在中山公園舉行紀念大會，屆時請各界代表參加。如左：第一日（十二日）上午九時，各界代表在中山公園集合，下午一時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會。第二日（十三日）上午九時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會，下午一時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會。第三日（十四日）上午九時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會，下午一時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會。

國軍已克復泊頭

韓復榘下令包圍敵軍生擒張學良

引富魁前夕克復泊頭 天津電：泊頭之敵，已於昨日（十日）下午七時，為國軍所克復。引富魁現已佔領泊頭，在泊頭之直隸軍後路，至是遂被截斷。韓復榘總指揮聞報，已下令包圍之形勢，急攻泊頭，務生擒張學良及其重要部屬。

三軍已攻克泊頭泊頭

電：三軍已攻克泊頭，泊頭之敵，已於昨日（十日）下午七時，為國軍所克復。引富魁現已佔領泊頭，在泊頭之直隸軍後路，至是遂被截斷。韓復榘總指揮聞報，已下令包圍之形勢，急攻泊頭，務生擒張學良及其重要部屬。

國民新報副刊一月份合訂本已出版請速購

本報副刊，自出版以來，深受各界人士之歡迎，現已出版一月份合訂本，請速購。

北京學生總會緊要通告

本月十二日為孫中山先生逝世週年紀念日，本會特定是日晨九時，舉行全體黨員大會，各同志屆時請齊集太和殿前行禮，以誌哀悼，特此通告。

國立中俄大學通告

本校此次招考，業經一年，現已招考完畢，定於三月十三日（星期日）上午九時，在中山公園舉行紀念大會，屆時請各界代表參加。如左：第一日（十二日）上午九時，各界代表在中山公園集合，下午一時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會。第二日（十三日）上午九時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會，下午一時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會。第三日（十四日）上午九時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會，下午一時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會。

鄧寶珊指揮河北豫軍

鄧已由孟津渡河北上 據某方面消息：岳維峻退守關後，業將防務佈置妥貼，預備待機反攻。岳以豫軍退在黃河北岸，不可無人統率，特令鄧寶珊指揮河北豫軍。

趙恒惕逃後之湘局 外人擬調趙赴湘 趙恒惕逃後，湘局益趨複雜，外人擬調趙赴湘，以資調停。

大沽海口已開放

北塘停戰奉軍大半運京 泥濘足見，欲逃者皆不能逃，因此乃全數被俘。北塘之敵，已於昨日（十日）下午七時，為國軍所克復。引富魁現已佔領泊頭，在泊頭之直隸軍後路，至是遂被截斷。韓復榘總指揮聞報，已下令包圍之形勢，急攻泊頭，務生擒張學良及其重要部屬。

王普赴蚌

中安兩行仍持異議 處治兩行，業經呈請政府，亦非不得已。王普赴蚌，以資調停。

馮玉祥不出山

馮玉祥自宣佈下野後，表示不願就職，迭經報告，查其不願就職之原因，係因不滿於政府之政策，故不願就職。

各界紀念孫中山先生逝世週年大會今日舉行

籌備完善 萬眾同哀 各界紀念孫中山先生逝世週年大會，定於今日（十三日）上午九時，在中山公園舉行。屆時請各界代表參加。如左：第一日（十二日）上午九時，各界代表在中山公園集合，下午一時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會。第二日（十三日）上午九時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會，下午一時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會。第三日（十四日）上午九時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會，下午一時，各界代表在中山公園舉行紀念大會。

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盧龍國軍擊潰奉軍兩旅 鹿鍾麟傳令嘉獎程希聖 某軍機處昨接前司令部電，報告盧龍國軍擊潰奉軍兩旅，程希聖功著，特予嘉獎。

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聯盟會進行狀況

法國無線電日來弗電云：三
十日電訊，此間一般感想
曰：里安氏之缺席，將使國
聯盟會之談判有所停滯，
將理事會之席次問題，難
以解決。據倫敦方面接得
電訊云，聯盟會第一次
會議之結果，會員咸採一種
更之態度，又云：里安如
日來弗，則大可便協定成
多抱悲觀。每日得報紙報告
蘭行動之資嚴，加以重視
波比之行動頗得一般之回
答，泰晤士報評論史克尼
堅實之意見，於此間之德國
閱記者云：關於理事會席
問題之第一日，並無若何
進步。謂結果一節仍不能
到。惟德國代表團盡力維
護此種觀念云。聯盟會已於
星期一選舉職員。計義大利
之霍維齊氏得四十五票，
日本之石井四十二票，新西
蘭之陽林三十四票，巴拉圭
（南美國名）之加巴利羅三
十二票，羅馬尼亞之提土洛
斯古三十二票，多米尼加共
和國之黑路路二十九票，投
票之代表共四十七名。聯盟
會又組兩委員會，一審查德
加外長發言問題，一審核算
事宜。委員長爲魯德（法國
代表）。兩委員會已於星期
二日開始會議，又理事會辦
理奧日利何牙利問題之委員
會亦於昨日在維耶納布達佩
斯特開會，討論兩國財政與
預算問題云。

聯盟前途畧有轉機

柏林十日電。據日內瓦電稱英外相張伯倫氏自與德授魯德氏及外長史特士孟氏會議表改變其對聯盟實理事紛爭之態度後，時局大有轉機，各界對於會議前途，多持樂觀。因法國態度不明，是以將來結果如何，尚難判定，德國代表等擬於今日發報其聯盟實理事問題之意見云云。

法法國無線電，柏林五月十日電訊，國會之殖民地聯合會議委員會將懸請外長史特勒斯滿氏，要求被選加入國際聯盟之殖民地監督委員會云。德之大多數報紙，主張務甚強硬，德國無論如何不能不再讓步，不然即使退出會議，亦所不惜云。但佛魯爾特報獨持異議，謂此問題不宜用司法手續，應用政治眼光判決之，須顧及將來之結果云。

西班牙波蘭態度一致

不得理事則去
柏林十日電：西班牙赴聯盟會代表向威士德蘭斯特雜誌報記者宣稱，設聯盟會允許他國不承認西班牙會云。

巴西堅求常川理事

日來弗三月十日專電：關於國際聯盟理事會常川會員國所發生之危機其概現已揭開，本日之事件，逐漸達於極點，理事會已西代表佛蘭哥氏本日已將巴西要求理事會明白披露，巴西現為理事會之非永久會員，去歲經國際聯盟選舉而取得此席。巴西因德國之加入聯盟會與充當理事會之常川會員均無所成現，目下亦願取得同樣理事會之代表權，巴西表露達此種目的起見，已不得則專電。

西政府已飭代表謂巴西不能取得理事會常川席次，如將代表由國際聯盟會撤回，佛蘭哥又稱本國願於退出席盟之前，先反對德國被逐加入理事會問題云云。單獨投票則可阻止理事會常川之常川會員。則巴西宣布之意見，如真堅持主張，其效果或能使該會分裂，並推翻全體之計畫亦未可知。下深恐其他要求常川席次者席次如西班牙，波蘭，比利時，中國捷克斯拉夫

法代表解决理事办法

允許德國常川理事
但不反對他國援例
林十日電：日內瓦法國代
團關於擴充聯盟會理事會
題，現已向德代表團提出
解決辦法，即立刻予
國一聯盟會理事常
以反對云。
川席，但德國對波蘭
西班牙及巴西在本年
九月聯盟大會，享受
同樣權利時，不得加
以反對云。

印人之不合作運動

林十日電：印度不合作黨
現已一律脫離特里城國
該黨領袖莫地納氏昨忠
印度英國當局從速放棄其
待之康印政策，否則印人
即以相當手段抵抗。又云該
黨份子現已着手進行遊說印
人齊起反對，誓必達到目的
云云。

因德實施聯盟所要求之義務

內瓦三月十日路透電云：辦
德加入聯盟之分委員
刻已異口同聲，贊成德
加入聯盟，因該分委員會
爲德國業將各聯盟國所要
之義務，完全實施，故擬
明日將詳細報告，送呈總
節，仍願堅持云。

瓦會議政策

德總統揆不滿羅約
段致電：總代表團領袖
林十日電：總代表團領袖
授魯德氏昨向晚報記者宣
布，頗有性命之憂。

王昨申法蘭飛機炸彈受傷

加入聯盟國，然魯氏並未嘗
言及提出有關保國家之名譽
只云此事不備德國。已否
少數國家明其真偽云。

美國堅持移移民律
黃金山領事電請嚴
重交涉

美國政府移民
修改新例，限制

情勢觀之，已顯然爲多數國家共謀抗德之

府方面消息，昨據駐
山總領事來電，謂美國
局定訂新例，苛待華僑

日下完通國稅率

三具仰祈鑒閱

廟街案之尾聲

東京二月二十二日電訊：國會將於此屆會議決撥款一百萬圓撫卹七年前在廟街被擄人屠害之日人七百名之家族云。日政府先已撥款一百五十萬圓救濟該輩遺族云。

法制案

衆議院，刻已將稅率法制定通過云。

法新閣之狀況

容納多方人才
欲得各派好感

巴黎二月十日電：滿引恩之就國務總理職務，頗引起各派之好感，此次發表之新

安以爲聯盟會之危急，較于巴黎爲尤重，故于今晚返回瑞士云。

中國代表對聯明態度

「吾從衆」

柏林十日電：日內瓦中國代表

六人，內有共和社會

二人，急派遣右二人一容納聯盟會之敦請云。

寧中山陵墓奠基典禮

今日舉行

南京快信云：南京紫金山麓之下，作永久紀念。屆時孫夫人孫科及國民政府各要人，均來事禮。籌備處已發函請求一千餘份。適南京本

造公司，訂立包工合同。一年為落成期。所招築工

址內，原本石徑崎嶇，現已一律填平。定於三月十二日上午，在城內開山中一週紀念會後，下午三時行奠墓禮，特備大方之奠基石一具，非常精固。並製銅銘一具，預備將中山生平事蹟及著作等，儲藏於內，置在基石

往觀禮者，為數約二十萬以上。已在禮場左近，紮製松枋，並搭約長二百餘丈之蓬蓽，以為臨時休息之所。正面有演台一座，備國民黨及各名人演講。是晚並擬在金陵春定備西餐，招待各界公宴云。

魏益三電告

茲據某方消息。晉軍商震已將駐石家莊之軍隊。退駐娘子關一節。已誌各報。現石家莊完全由魏軍駐防。魏營三昨日有電來京。稱晉兵原被擊退。茲據魏氏原電如左。

北京參議院副司令邵生覺兄

馮玉祥請徐季龍代祭中山

中山先生逝世週年紀念。各界人士。均致哀。忱昨接徐季龍接馮玉祥電。謂遠隔萬里不能前往致祭。請徐代祭。

嚶：口密。來電奉悉。
線近日平穩如常，前破

月橋樑之宵夢，乘經黃軍擊退，橋樑亦已修復。頃聞曾退之商（震）師長均有來電慰勸，並謂已命曲陽駐軍撤退，究竟是否誠心，尙不可知。已飭前地方各部軍嚴陣戒備，非至萬不得已，決不輕啓戰端，以負我蜀上將軍恩。

二月十二日

申山先生週年紀念
遠居塞外，不能
前往致祭。所有應
辦祭品，即請寶神
代辦爲禱。弟馮玉
祥陽（七日）印。

告全國民衆

全國民衆！中山先生的學生精力，都是爲民族爭獨立與平等，爲國民謀自由與幸福。他不但由社會公認爲創造民國領導運動的元勳，而且是中國近代史上惟一偉大人物。他是帝國主義的敵人，却是全國民衆的導師。他是民族的救星，又是國民的模範。他現在死了，死了已經一年了！他雖然死了，可是他的遺囑遺著和學生事務，尙爲國人耳所聞目見。他雖然死了，可是他的偉大人格，革命的三民主義，和奮鬥經歷，將永遠爲全國國民所記念效法和信託。我們國民應該效法卓遠第一立頭學我們出生入死的居喪期間的運動，必定要得力於中山先生！我們應該效法我們民族的深仇，就不得不想到中山先生！想到中山先生，愈使我們憤恨帝國主義和賣國軍閥。中山先生雖然死了，可是他手創的中國國民黨還沒有死，不但還沒有死，而且日見開展；始終繼承中山先生的奮鬥，不自由而奮鬥。凡是誠實紀念中山先生的人們，都將加入他手創的中國國民黨，爲他的遺志而犧牲。

中山先生雖然死了，可是他手創的廣州政府還沒有死，不但沒有死，而且地位日見鞏固，勢力日見雄厚。但是

中山先生不死於身臨前敵申討叛逆之時，而死於隻身

北土號召國民會議和廢除不平等條約之日，賣國軍閥的奸詐和帝國主義頑強，實激其病重復亡之一原因。總觀中山先生歷史，其所以使他易於為全國國民奮鬥，一面由於帝國主義和賣國軍閥歷年給予他的打擊。他死了沒有別的遺恨，祇是「革命尚未成功！」他死了對於國民沒有別的要求，祇是「同志仍須努力！」假使中山先生的神靈有知，一定在那裏指示紀念他的：「你們不要徒然為我悲傷，你們力量資助他北伐成功。」

中山先生去世才一週年，張吳亂國，就到這步田地。中山先生如果在世，必定號召全國國民起來打倒軍閥，反抗製造軍閥的帝國主義，建立真正和平，召集國民會議，組織全國統一的國民政府。可是中山先生去世了，全國國民皆應在國民黨旗幟之下，負起這個救國救民的責任來。中山先生是永遠在我們上面，死了不可復生了。但是中山先生的教導，是永存在我們上面。我們不要專用發展紀念中山

中國國民的敵人，天天在那裏盼望中山先生早死。他以為中山先生死了，中國國民革命運動，就可從此終止。他們要繼續而努力！」

昨日國務會議詳情

議決裁汰各部院閣員辦法
賀德霖報告整理財政計畫

昨日（十一日）執政會議，
省長簡人員任命辦法案，議決裁汰各部院閣員辦法，整理財政計畫。

溥方奉軍退雙望鎮

唐之道來電報告

據最難消息：深州東北方面之情形，日來並無絲毫變動。奉軍不特未越過深河，且已退守雙望鎮。關於此事，我軍場官長一員，目兵十餘名，陣亡官兵二名。「三」敵入午前十點，有大車數輛行至朱各莊東五六里，即

中國國民黨北京特別市黨部

其餘均由次長代理。上午十

時開議，秘書長鄧漢祥報告
督署閩錫山佳電，謂已將所
有進駐石家莊軍隊，一律撤
回娘子關一帶，以符鈞座要
求本旨云云。次討論各重要
議案，(一)整理中央各部職
官案，(二)第一步為裁汰冗員，
各機關人員，其不在官制
內者，應予實授云。(四)財政部
報告前任財政總長所發春節
庫券，其條例尚未送交政院
審核，應否補送云云。議決
將該條例補送。財長復得霖
報告整理財政計畫。最後
議決報告，下午一時散會。
茲將為布例案錄左：

衆，連累我陣地至五次之多
外，其餘紛紛望風退却。一
二)此役計斃敵一千餘名，
一軍將領

昨宴郭瀛洲

張樹聲將與郭同

無大變化。惟沿河人民，
逃避一空。該敵因男子遠逃
，強驅婦女代行工作，並在
溝內作假設敵人之(下略)

為時機已至，前日之專員
會議，有人主張推王揖唐與
張樹聲同赴奉。惟洽一切
問題。現正徵求王氏同意。
惟王氏同意與否，尚不可知

以內者，如確具有下列三項資格：（甲）致試資格，（乙）議定國政商榷會秘書長之聲辭職照准。

若有分發人員，(丙)在清員，每月酌支津貼，由四十元至一百二十元，另訂此項人員津貼規則，其無此項規則者，一律裁汰。第二步為清理欠薪，凡在民國十五年以前之欠薪，應即切實整理，其過此以往之薪水，則務須按月發給，由財政部另定辦法。(二)外交部提出清理各國駐債欠經費案，會宗憲報告使館欠費，數目為二十餘萬元，各駐使因經費無着，辦事異常棘手，事關國體，請政府迅速設法籌撥云云。議決由財政部接兩星期內提前撥隨。(三)各議定津海關監督郭都奎臨免職，遺缺以王典型簡署。議定漢關監督孔憲廷免職，遺缺以寇鴻恩簡署。議定熱河財政廳廳長高寶忠辭職照准，遺缺以李象昇簡署。一議定兼署司法次長王文豹專任司長，無庸兼署，所有司法次長員缺以余紹宋簡任。一財政部提議，將蘇關關治河開捐續繳一年，議決照辦。一農商部提議，擬定美國費城展覽會赴賽經費統算，議決交由財政部。一勞績，稍事休整。昨日與張樹藩氏同赴警衛總司令部，謁王鴻緒督辦，交換國本和議之意見。彼此協商後，郭當由警衛司令部致電奉天張作霖，報告此次與政府方面及國軍各將領會見之經過情形。次謂塘沽會戰，國軍純出於自衛之手段，亦無乘勝變更原來進行和議之意見。一國軍方面，對於退還熱河一事，亦可於奉方允許撤退輪關駐兵，及迅即停止各方戰事條件之下履行，惟此須經政府酌量成否。至其他皆照推誠協商，擬退還樹藩氏同至瀋陽，交換意見。可否之處，請即電示云云。又聞政府方面，對於奉軍和議，認

乃陳，賈玉環等全體要人，訂於昨日(十九日)下午七時，在財政部官舍，宴請郭周兩氏，並請賈德耀，胡映光，馮鴻，郭漢祥等作陪，交換今後進行和議之意見。賈德耀與全體團員訂於今日(二十日)上午十一時宴請郭氏本人，已預定十四日請票，刺正華協與張樹藩氏起程云。

命令

臨時執政令

任命陳肇鵬為口北鎮守使此任命陳肇鵬為口北鎮守使此任命張維藩為熱河都統兼查

中華民國十五年三月廿日

孫中山先生逝世周年紀念

特刊

十五年三月十二日

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陳延炯謹撰

如何才能完成中山的事業

陳隆修

資本主義的發展，必然地產生了國際帝國主義，國際帝國主義的發展，又必然地產生了殖民地及半殖民地的民族革命運動，於是中山先生這個偉大人格者，遂與俄國的列寧，土耳其的基瑪爾，埃及的撒魯爾，印度的甘地等，同出現於廿世紀的第二十年，而成為世界著名的民族革命運動領袖。他們的革命的理論和實際運動的方法，雖然因環境的差異而有不同，然而他們的使命，在推翻國際帝國主義，解放一切被壓迫民族，而從新建立一個真正平等自由的民族間社會，則是相同的。他們的事業的成功和身體的生死，在目前雖因種種客觀的事實而有不同的結果，然而他們的使命，並不因他們目前事業的成功和身體的存否而有變動。他們用心思腦筋汗血骨換得的革命理論和經驗，已經深入於民族革命戰士的腦裏，將隨着帝國主義之進展而日益發揮其效力。他們的使命，必然地會完成的；若不是他們自己親身及見其完成，必定是他們的信徒繼續他們的工作，秉承他們的教訓，去完成。因為不但民族革命運動在資本主義發達的理論上，是必然要進行的，而且他們燃點了的反帝國主義的火，在殘壓迫民族的精神上，是不到燒盡帝國主義的時候不會消滅的。一個被壓迫民族，了解了自己民族革命的意義和自己民族革命領袖的使命之後，應當想的是：怎樣設法使自己民族革命成功，怎樣幫助或繼承自己民族革命領袖，去完成他的使命。（關於以上全段，著者另有一文，『中山的使命與中山的事業』，載在新軍雜誌中山紀念號，茲不詳述）。

中山死後一年間中國民族革命運動的發展，證明中山雖死，中山的事業不死，證明上述理論是對的。中國國民

族壓迫民族，推翻國際帝國主義，這件事本身已經是民族革命了。但是這樣的回答，對於怎樣才能完成中山的事業——國民革命——一層，却未能解決，所以還是一個不充分的回答。

我想：『怎樣才能完成中山的事業？』就是說『怎樣才能完成國民革命？』，所以問題歸結是一個『怎樣才可以革命成功？』的問題。要革命成功，第一要有真正的革命的人才，第二要這真正的人才，真正能行革命的行爲。什麼才是真正的人才，什麼才算是真正的革命的行爲？這很難一言而盡。

我想：真正的人才，在最小限度，應具下列三種特性：（一）有激進的革命的人生觀，知道革命是社會的通常現象，能夠不害怕革命，不躲避革命，而以革命為終身的職業，和中山先生之除革命而外，自覺無其他使命一樣。（二）知道社會事業進展中的矛盾律，能夠於衝突中找出路，於混亂中找條理，能夠不固執於成敗之俗見，能夠隨進退之機宜，總而言之，能夠觀察並分析複雜的環境，去設法支配他，改變他，和中山先生逐漸造成他的三民主義，戰勝滿清和北洋軍閥一樣。（三）能夠知道知識沒有止境，知道革命的理論和實際隨着環境的變動而會日新不已，知道繼續求知，終身不倦，和中山先生雖在百忙之中，手不釋卷，無論何人的意見，只要有價值的，都大度接納，求人才求共產黨，求革命的理論和策略於蘇俄一樣。以上三種特性，都是真正的人才所必需的。沒有（一），便會變成投機的或畏縮的革命家。沒有（二），便只會一往直前，有勇無謀，只會被環境支配，不會改變環境，難免遇挫之際，常受意外的顛倒。沒有（三），便難隨着新的環境變動，而獲得新的革命理論，便會變成一個落伍的

革命運動家在中山死後，依上面所述，唯一的任務就是設法使中國國民革命成功，設法繼承中山，完成他的使命！因為中山的事業不死和中山事業的完成，其間的距離，還遠得很。

但是，怎樣才能完成中山的事業呢？這是今天中山肉體死去一週年，一切中山主義的信徒和國民革命的戰士們在紀念中山的崇高雄渾的空氣中，應該深思熟慮的一個問題！

對於這個問題，首先要在我們應有的答案，自然是『要發揮中山的三民主義』。不錯，三民主義的發揚光大，的確是中山事業的完成的一個前提。但是中山的根本事業，是中國的國民革命，國民革命運動固然離不了三民主義，然而三民主義却不能是國民革命本身，他不過是國民革命運動的一個目的地，國民革命成功後的一個理想罷了。所以三民主義的發揚光大，不能算是完成中山事業的主要方法。

其次我們立刻想得到的答案是：『要擴大國民黨和鞏固廣州國民政府』。不錯，國民黨是中國國民革命的大本營，廣州國民政府是中國國民革命的根據地，我們要完成中山的事業，自然應該擴大國民黨和鞏固廣州國民政府。然而這種擴大和鞏固，不過是國民革命運動進行的基礎，却還算不得是完成中山的國民革命的方法！因為，若是組織大而無當，根據地立而不能進展，則國民革命的成功，仍是不可期的。

更次，我們可得到答案：『對內要依國民會議的方法，打倒軍閥政治，建設統一的全中國國民政府，對外要與一切被壓迫的民族聯合起來，推翻國際帝國主義』。這個答案，自然更是不錯，因為這個聯合國民打倒軍閥，聯合

革命家，其結果，便難免於不知不覺之間，變成反革命分子。

真正的人才，不必都能做真正的革命的行爲，要完成國民革命，還應該要求真正的人才，實行真正的革命的行爲。真正的革命的行爲，在最小限度，應該包含以下四種行爲：（一）知善即行的行爲，必定有這種行爲，然後才能打破一切因襲，改造社會。中山先生的知難行易說的反面，也就包含着這個知即行的意。（二）勇而有節度的行爲，必定有這種行爲，然後不會坐失事機，也不會盲目勇進。中山先生以數隻兵船與擁兵十餘萬的陳炯明交戰，以廣州彈丸之地，與大英帝國作對，他的勇敢的行爲，已經令人佩服，他的胸有節度，能進能退，尤其是表示他的行爲的革命性。（三）接近羣衆，深入羣衆，結合羣衆的行爲。革命是羣衆的行爲，所以真正的人才，必定要有接近羣衆，深入羣衆，結合羣衆的行爲，才能夠指揮革命，抓住革命。中山先生在中國革命家中最富於這種行爲，是大家知道的。（四）只問革命不革命，不同私人感情好壞的行爲。這種行爲，在革命進行上，非常重要。革命運動家對同志的關係，要雖然以革命的利益為出發點。是革命的，那怕他是平素私人的讎仇，也應當犧牲私情而引他為同志。是反革命的，那怕他是親家故舊，也應當斷絕公義，而視他為敵人。若不這樣，則公私難分，縱然是真正的人才，他恐怕難免做反革命利益的行爲了。關於這一點，我們只須學中山就夠了，因為中山的行爲，幾乎全都是只問革命不革命，不同私人感情好壞的行爲！

以上說的真正的人才，恰是中山的一個縮影，所說的真正的革命的行爲，恰是中山先生行爲的特色，所

以要完成中山的事業，最要的是應養成有中山式資性的人才，使他行中山式的行為。換句話說，就是一切國民革命家，不要空談三民主義，五權憲法，不要從事什麼黨的正統，個人的權利，而要學中山的為人，行中山的行為！中山死了，中山的資性，和中山的行為，却遺留在中山的著作和事跡之中，所以我們若完成中山的事業，我們便應從中山的著作和事跡之中，抓住中山的革命理論和實際策略，並且應用到新的世界的及中國的客觀環境中去。

只有那樣，才能完成中山的事業！國民革命！也只有那樣，才能擁有紀念中山先生的實際的意義！

孫中山先生在中國民族革命史上

之位置

守 常

由一八四〇年，英人以砲火破開中國的門戶，強行輸入毒害中國人民的鴉片，中經英法聯軍之役，中法之役，中日之役，庚子聯軍之役，日俄之戰，日越之戰，一直到一九二五年五卅運動以來，帝國主義者在上海沙面漢口九江等處對於中國民族的屠殺，是一部徹頭徹尾的帝國主義壓迫中國民族史。

由一八四一年，廣東三元里鄉民因英人挑釁而發，迫我軍費六百萬兩，割香港，集衆數萬，痛毆英兵。一八四二年粵人聯到英迫我締結南京條約賠款二千萬元，開五口通商，割香港，留下協定關稅的根苗的消息，集衆數萬，反抗英人，焚其商館。一八四五年粵民舉辦團練，抗拒英人復入廣州。一八四九年，粵人舉團十餘萬於何干，抗拒英人入廣州城。中經太平天國的革命運動

我們要想了解中山先生的思想及其事業的重要，必須先考察他的時代及環境。先生的生年，是從一八六六年到一九二五年，這是帝國主義侵略中國最劇烈的時代。先生的誕生地是廣東省的香山縣，距廣州很近廣州是中國開放海關最早的地方，這是帝國主義最初侵入中國的門戶。西歷紀元四世紀時，印度僧人慧生，已自廣州入京。十世紀至十三世紀間，是廣州的繁榮時代，最初來廣州的是亞拉伯人，歐人是西荷等國人。一七八四年美艦「中國皇后」號到粵。一八四〇年鴉片戰爭以前，廣州成為澳門的季節出產所，外國在那裏設立商館，只能經過行商的手，與中國貿易。中國對於居留廣州的外人，設有種種的限制。一六〇〇年英國東印度公司成立以來，耶利查別士女王特許其有對華貿易獨占權到了。一八三三年對華貿易權轉由東印度公司，轉移到私人商業手裏。在這東印度公司有對華貿易獨占權的期間，英帝國主義者只是羨慕葡人先占的澳門。只是常常在廣州的門戶以外徘徊着，想伺一個機會進來，佔據廣州，像葡人佔據澳門一樣；但是因為廣東民衆嚴密的防守，頑固的抵抗，終於沒有能實現了他的願望；所以一八三〇年以前，中英商業的平等，還是於中國方面有利，銀貨不斷的由印度，英國，美國，輸入中國。在那個時期英棉及一定程度的羊毛，亦輸入於中國。一八三三年以後，英棉及羊毛漸漸增高的以巨額輸入於中國。鴉片的流毒，像潮水一般的湧進來。中國的銀貨，亦像潮水一般的流出於印度，幾乎耗盡了中國民族的骨血。在那一世紀英國政府的收入，有七分之一靠着賣鴉片於華人。同時印人需要英國的製造品，亦全靠從印度的鴉片的出產。那時英國資本主義發展的結果，輸出於印度的商品額日以增高，則其取自印度而須賣給華人的鴉片額量

，三合會等會聚現清仇洋的運動，乃至白蓮教支派義和團快清滅洋的運動，強學會保國會的立憲運動，與中會同盟會的革命運動，一直到由五四到五卅關連全國的反帝國主義的大運動，是一部徹頭徹尾的中國民族反抗帝國主義的民族革命史。

這一條浩浩蕩蕩的民族革命運動史的洪流，時而顯現，時而潛伏，時而迂迴旋繞，勢不可擋，時而急轉直下，一瀉萬里。他的趨勢是非流注於勝利的前途而不停止。簡明的說，中國民族革命運動史，只在壓迫中國民族的帝國主義完全消滅的時候，纔有光榮的勝利的終結。

孫中山先生所領導的民族革命運動，在中國民族解放全史中，實據有中心的位置，實為最重要的部分。他承接了太平天國民族革命的系統，而把那個時代農業經濟所反映出來的帝王思想，以及隨着帝國主義進來的宗教迷信，一一淘洗淨盡。他整理了許多明清初流傳下來以及反清復明為基礎的，後來因為受了帝國主義壓迫，而漸次擴大着有色彩鮮明而下的屠殺，使他們漸漸的脫棄農業的宗教社會的性質而進入於國民革命的正軌。他揭發了滿清以預備立憲，欺騙民衆的奸計，使那些實在起於民族解放運動而趨入立憲運動的民衆，不能不漸漸的回頭，重新集合於革命旗幟之下。他經過了最時期矯正盲目的排外仇洋運動，以後更指導着國民革命的力，最集中於很鮮明的反帝國主義的戰國。他接受了代表中國工廠階級利益的共產黨，收編了中國國民黨，使國民黨注重工農的組織，而成為普遍的羣衆的黨，使中國國民革命運動，最密切的與世界革命運動相聯結。他這樣的指導革命的功績，是何等的偉大！他這樣的指導革命的全生涯，在中國民族解放運動中，是何等的重要！

，亦必隨着增高。英國此時需要打破中國門戶，不僅是為印出產的巨額鴉片，謀一銷路，並且是為那在他本國暢旺出產的製造品，謀一銷售的市場。英人爲達此目的，乃於一八四〇年用猛烈的砲火，攻擊中國南方不給外人開放的門戶——廣州，以武力強取鴉片及其他商品等經濟勢力，壓迫中國。結果英國的砲火打破了中國的門戶，帝國主義遂由廣州侵入中國。

一八四〇年鴉片戰爭以後，中國的門戶洞開，外國商品因得以暢行輸入而無阻。這個外國製造品的引入，對於本國的製造品，自然要發生破壞的影響。此種影響對於中國與其影響於小亞細亞，波斯，印度者，全是一樣。在外貨競爭之下，中國的紡織者遭遇了最大的困難，社會生活隨着外貨壓迫的比例，呈出不安現狀，發生了破產的手工業者，及農民的大衆，加以鴉片的不生產的消費。因鴉片貿易而生的資金流出，鴉片戰爭的對英賠款，以及關於鴉片販賣的賄賂公行，以致公家行政的窮竭百出。總此諸因，增加了巨大的人民負擔，新稅增設，舊稅增額，遂以釀成太平天國的大革命。

太平天國的運動，是併合明亡以來反清復明的民族運動，隨着外力侵入中國的耶教運動，以及廢絕帝國主義政治的，經濟的壓迫而發生的國民革命運動三大系統，匯注而成的。有明既亡，許多孤臣遺老，亡命諸將。在國粵一帶的下層民衆留下了秘密組織，把反清復明的民族思想，深深的撒布在中國民族最底層下的階級，希望保存其理想，而待時以發育。這個廢絕民族思想於下層階級的事實，足以昭示吾人以革命的力量，常常着於工農階級的下層民衆之間；並且預示吾人以中國民族解放的成功，多半要靠工農民衆的努力鬥爭。帶以及海外的三合會，（一名

天地會)即是這種反清復明的秘密團體。太平天國的運動中，亦曾容納了三合會的一部。太平黨與三合會的宗旨不能適合的地方，約有二點：(一)太平黨信耶穌，而三合會信道教的佛教。(二)太平黨主張於顛覆清以後，建立新朝，而三合會則主張恢復明室。故二者未能完全合一。至於反清復明的民族運動，在滿清初入關時，已經與耶穌思想有了接觸。明室遺族在廣東曾與羅教皇有交遊的往來。明皇族及其遺臣，那時已有百數十人加入耶穌。太平黨人之有耶穌的關係，一方是那時時代隨着帝國主義侵入中國的耶穌教影響的反映，一方是明末的民族思想與耶穌教思想結合的歷史的因緣。看那太平黨人的教主宋九疇「洪秀全」的名字，便知他們的教門，必與宋明子遺混同會有其所淵源。

太平天國的年代，是由一八五〇年到一八六四年。在這十四年間，正是英國產業發展最盛的年代。這一班抱民族思想的農村的青年們，身受外來經濟的壓迫，目睹鴉片的流毒，以及官僚政治的腐敗，自然要發覺那些頑固的山不能自給的農夫，從事失業的手工業者，以及那些因為賄賂公行，而進身無路，落第不平的士子起來，恢復他們的民族的國家了。

太平天國的運動，是滿清入關以來中國民族反抗滿洲的民族革命運動，同時亦是反抗帝國主義武力的經濟壓迫的民族革命運動，他們嚴厲的禁吸鴉片，便是表示他們對帝國主義者以鴉片灌輸進來的毒物，非常的厭惡，同時又是帝國主義經濟的壓迫下的農民革命運動。看他們佔據南京以後，頒布了一個含有均平性質的土地令，便知那次的革命，多半起於農民經濟的要求。

太平黨人雖然知道鴉片是帝國主義者腐蝕中國民族的

武力干涉太平軍入上海。英海軍助清軍奪回寧波。英八與清軍主勾結鎮壓中英艦隊。一八六三年清軍以英將戈登統所前鋒軍，助太平軍。至一八六四年，太平天國亡。

這樣看來太平天國的滅亡，不是亡於滿清，乃是亡於英法帝國主義者。滿清降服於帝國主義者，以中國民族的權利，貢獻於其前。他們援助滿清，撲滅了含有民族革命性的太平軍。自是以來，援助反動勢力以撲滅民族革命運動，遂成為帝國主義者宰制中國民族的傳統政策。

在太平天國的動亂中，英法忙於侵略中國的時候，美國勢力，遂進迫到日本，以後各國隨至，日本民族亦受了不平等條約的束縛。

這是太平天國時代帝國主義壓迫東方的大勢。

太平天國雖然滅亡，可是中國民族解放運動，並未因此而中斷，太平天國滅後二年一八六六年孫中山先生誕生。由一八六六年到中山先生逝世的一九二五年，中國民族解放運動，總在那里蓬蓬勃勃的向前湧進。中山先生在這個運動中，是個唯一的指導者。他以畢生的精力，把中國民族革命的種種運動，諸如整理，溶解聯合，以入於普遍的民衆，革命的正軌，他那臨終的遺囑，明明白白告訴我們中國的國民革命，是世界革命的一部。

先生所生的時代，及其環境，在在都使他自覺其所負民族的歷史的使命的偉大，英法帝國主義的蹂躪，太平天國的崩潰，在在都足以激動他革命的熱情，而確立其決心。帝國主義對於中國進攻加強一步，他的革命階級，遂進一步。

先生承接了太平天國的革命的正統，而清洗了他們的帝王思想，宗教思想。整理了三合會哥老會一類的民間的

毒物，而不知宗教亦是帝國主義者腐蝕中國民族的東西，其作用與鴉片一樣。他們禁止了鴉片，却採用了宗教，不建設民國，而建設天國，這是他們失敗的一個重要原因。他們的宗教觀念，在好的方面減少了殘酷的人類的仇視，在壞的方面，遮蓋了帝國主義者殘酷的真相，埋沒了這次革命的反抗帝國主義性，使他們沒有看清他們所認為兄弟的，可以搖身一變而為扶助滿清，撲滅太平革命的長勝軍。

一八五〇年頃英國產業有發展無比的發展，有顯於產業的危機的徵象。即有大規模的移民出國，即有加里佛尼亞與澳洲，仍不能開闢英國產業伸張，與市場擴大平衡。當時英國茶稅的減低，希望以增加茶的輸入，既而增加對華製造品的輸出，就是為了開闢市場擴大平衡的必要。太平天國動亂，縮小了英國製造品的市場，可以使英國產業危機的迫至加速社會革命。大師馬克思在當時說過，英國造成了中國的革命，中國的革命將要反響於英倫，經過英倫，反響於歐洲。所以英國對於太平軍動亂取兩面的態度，一面利用這次動亂，與法國聯軍壓迫滿清，使他放棄那天朝上國妄自尊大的態度，而不得不降服於帝國主義之流，許與增開口岸，為帝國主義者擴大市場；一面以武力干涉太平軍，使之不能入重慶的港口，援助滿清，以消滅中國的民族解放運動。觀於一八五八年天津條約成立以後，英公使便經長江過南京時，以鐵鏈擊南京太平軍的砲台。一八六〇年李秀成攻上海時，英人卜羅斯以通商大臣的資格，通告以武力干涉中國內亂。一八六一年英海軍大將何伯訓令亞柏林艦長干涉太平軍入上海，或東甌境內，干涉太平軍攻擊寧波，並與太平軍開稅衝突。一八六二年英艦在長江為清軍擊退兵士，及接濟軍火。英法聯軍以

民族的結社，改造了他們的思想，使人於革命的正軌，一九〇〇年合併與中會與三合會老會而為中會黨，與議會。一九〇五年，又在東京成立中國革命同盟會。二次革命失敗後，又在東京改組中華革命黨。一九二四年又在廣州改組中國國民黨，容納中國共產黨的分，使中國的國民革命運動，與世界革命運動，聯成一體，使民族主義的結社，通過而演成現代的工農團體，一體加入國民革命黨，使少數革命的知識階級的革命黨，過渡而成為浩大的普遍的國民的羣衆黨，這都是先生在中國民族革命史上繼往開來，鑄新開舊，把革命的基礎，深植於本國工農民衆，廣結於世界革命民衆的偉大功績。

帝國主義聯合戰線的破裂 陳石亭

中山先生致力革命事業垂四十餘年，晚年更奔走號呼，以廢除不平等條約及打倒帝國主義自任。他雖沒有親眼看見這兩事的成功，然而他死後一年內世界局勢的更動，確係向帝國主義傾軋方面進行。廢除不平等條約是國民革命最低限度的目的，而達此目的的手段則在打倒帝國主義。一年以來，帝國主義的戰線漸呈破裂的現象，這正是打倒帝國主義的好機會。在此紀念中山先生的時候，全國國民應具一番極熱烈的決心，發起中山式的奮鬥精神，直撲已將全體瓦解的帝國主義戰線，務期于最短時間內，達到打倒帝國主義，完成國民革命的目的。以下請研究中山先生死後帝國主義戰線破裂的述痕。

現今帝國主義的戰線有三：(一)是西歐的英法聯合，(二)是西半球的美國，(三)是太平洋的日本。英法聯合代表工商業資本主義發達的極頂，以英國的海軍和法國的空陸二軍作後盾。廣東罷工委員會嚴密查進口貨，英國在

香港的貿易大受打擊，倫敦政府便撥兵十萬到中國（見三月一日日本報）。這是一個最近例證。美國是現今財政資本的魔王，不祇操縱被壓迫民族的財政金融，即歐洲的經濟命脈也歸它掌握。它的代表是煤油大王，鋼鐵大王，汽車大王一類人物，在弱小民族國家裡，是用巡邏艦一類的東西來支持着。馬子江一帶佈滿了它的軍艦，便是頂好的證據。日本最重于模仿性，所以在帝國主義的進軍方面，也竭力效法美國的故智。結果，它在中國的侵略政策，是一個工業資本主義（即法英美）和財政資本主義（即法美國）的混合物（註）。它後方的實力是英國式的海軍和普魯士式的陸軍。美國的勢力範圍全在美洲，英法的勢力範圍及於弱小民族，日本的野心則祇限於亞洲大陸。倘若這三個他會人類的惡魔一致聯合起來，其餘各民族大概祇能俯首聽命，任它們宰割。

但是，實際它們能聯合嗎？這篇小文便是對於這個問題的解答。

凡國際和約是建築在英美法合作上的，但是美國因為國內政策的限制，沒有批准德意日美四國的不平等條約，所以帝國主義者的聯合戰線算是已經受了一個大大的打擊。戰後法國又謀獨佔拉攏英國，但是英國因為法蘭西和國際發展本國貿易的原故，對於法國這種壓迫德國的行為不表贊同。同時，法國對內有財政問題和政治問題天天飽受它的苦痛，對外又有德意日和蘇俄的戰爭。在最近的一年內，法國帝國主義沒有安寧的一天（本月初外電又傳非洲和小亞細亞的戰事繼續發生），就是因為這幾個問題。這樣看來，帝國主義陣營之一（法國）已經起了一種不眠的內在外交的變態，無怪帝國主義聯合戰線現在不如以前那樣堅固了。

總統，這可以證明德國對於帝國主義者壓迫的不滿意。德意日美四國現在實行了一年半，雖然德國已經如斯家奴，但是在以後的幾十年，却不能希望它還繼續履行。去年夏天有一位奧國教授曾經告訴我，說德意日美四國是必須推翻的。另外還遇見一位德國教授，他在大戰時曾經上過戰場，我們談話中間，他露出几種憂鬱和沒有永遠履行的必要。從此可見德國人民終久是要打倒英法美帝國主義的聯合戰線的。

去年英法外交總長伯倫利用德法去抵制蘇聯日益膨脹的勢力，所以與德法締結加爾各答會議，結果，各國的互保條約竟於十二月一日在倫敦簽了字。這似乎是個帝國主義的一個大勝利，然而不然。試看上月意大利和蘇聯對於德政府所發的言論，就可以知道所謂互保條約不過是一張口頭支票。到了真正利益攸關的時候，什麼神聖的條約也成了不值分文的廢紙。這就是意大利而言，再看英法又怎樣。倫敦條約簽字後，德國馬上行文到國際聯盟秘書處，請求加入聯盟。原來英法早已預先約定，德國加入聯盟後，它可以在理事會上占得永遠議席。不意德國請求加入聯盟之際，法國立刻聲明它贊成除德國外，波蘭，西班牙，巴西三國也應同席在理事會上，各占一永遠議席。這是什麼意思呢？說來倒是有理。法國自從凡爾賽和議以來，一方面因為怕德國死灰復燃，所以聯絡了一些中歐小國和羅馬尼亞，捷克，南斯拉夫，把它們組織成一個監視德國的團體，叫做「小協約國」。他方面，它還怕蘇俄勢力增加，所以唆使高爾基和布爾什維克在兩伯利亞方面，發厄金和蘭格爾在波蘭方面，四向蘇俄宣戰。結果，法國的志願雖未達到，然而波蘭却成為法國在中歐一個有力的盟國。這次法國竟把它加入理事會，動機不外是增長自己的勢力。

再看英國，它在一九二五年也曾受了一場大禍。第一便是香港貿易上的損失。我們須知道，英國對東方的大部貿易是以香港作根據地，該處生意蕭條，便不會把它全國的經濟命脈割斷了一大部分。並通關着抵制英貨的口號，並沒有多大用途，因為這祇是一個招牌，而不是治本的辦法。治本的辦法，應該從英國貨物的來源着手，比如和香港總經濟上的交往，便是治本辦法之一。隨國民政府看見了這一點，並且能夠努力去實行，所以一年以來，英國在東方的經濟生命會受了一個致命傷。倘若國民政府能不懈地繼續下去，不到幾年英國人便得從香港搬走。

一九二五年英國所受的第二个損失，是國際地位的降低。在現代社會裡，最顯赫的國家素來受人尊敬，英國有第一等海軍，所以從來視權行無懼。那知道去年五卅慘案發生以來，它竟得軟化于我國國民運動之前。關稅會議的開議，司法調查的進行，和上海工部局裁撤的撤消等等，雖然不能滿足我們的要求，然而從英國方面看來，却是一種很大的讓步。倘若沒有去年的國民運動，英國決不會會答應開關稅會議（雖然從國民運動的立場看來，關稅會議不啻是最好），這是可斷言的。因此，英國國際聲望（？）的喪失，也是帝國主義聯合戰線解體的一方面。

上面說過，一九一九年對德和約是建築在英美法合作上的，未幾美國折衷，法國便一心一意向美國調情。一九二三年一月十一日法軍單獨撤出德國境，德國消極抵抗，且英國表示不合作態度，所以才有去年四月九日的達爾斯計畫出現。這個有名的計畫，仔細分析起來，不過是英法等國加在德意志民族上的一個新鎖鍊。因此，去年德國內起了一種反動，國民黨選舉戰時大元帥與希特勒將軍作

勢力。至于西班牙，它在摩洛哥是和法國同被土人排斥的一國，去年夏間兩國曾在西班牙京城締結軍事上的互助，所以法國主張它在理事會上占一永遠的議席，也是有所不可對人言的動機。巴西是南美洲的領袖，和西班牙有密切的關係，倘若加入理事會，也必事事惟法國之命是從。自私自利的空氣充滿了歐洲政治舞臺，所謂「羅加諾精神」（即帝國主義者合作的精神）不過是一個虛幻的名詞罷了！

本月初，張伯倫也有贊助西班牙加入理事會的宣言。帝國主義者完全以利益為結合，它們的手段（在它們相互間的往來），是助弱排強。它們幫助弱國，並非有所愛於後者，不過是藉以壓倒對手的國的一種權宜。這一點在英國國際關係上最易看出。十九世紀它協助土耳其，因為怕俄國佔據君士坦丁。後來它又和俄國結合，因為怕德國勢力的發展。戰後，它竭力替德國主持公道，因為想壓制法國不可遏制的氣憤。現在已經以平等眼光待德國了，又恐德國的氣憤一發不可收拾，所以轉而贊助法國的主張，聲稱對於理事會的擴大即加入反對德國的份子不加以反對。帝國主義者這種反反覆覆的勾當，隨處都可以發現，在我們被壓迫的民族看來，這是帝國主義者聯合戰線破裂的表示。

再就美國而論，它對於歐洲的態度，好像一個腰纏巨金的富翁，把所有的金銀錢都藏在囊裡，並且向鄰居說：你們自己管自己罷，我們的錢是留在家裏用的。不祇如此，它更進一步，向歐洲各帝國主義者如英，法，意等國討還那幾個人的一，〇〇〇，〇〇〇，〇〇〇金元的債務。從此我們曉得帝國主義者是無同情心的，他們剝削他人的慾望是沒有止境的。美國已經有世界全數金額的一半，

但還不知足，還要同歐洲討債。那位高踞大陸的帝國主義者，除用財政資本直接向被壓迫的民族吮吸他們的鮮血外，更間接的將歐洲各帝國主義者所取得的利潤，硬奪過去。誰說帝國主義的繁榮會有窮盡的一天？不過，這裏我們又可以看見帝國主義戰線是永遠不會聯合的，因為它們的前提是自私自利，自私自利的國家，永遠不會有和他國聯合的可能。即使聯合，也不過是一時的，共同利益消滅時，它們的聯合戰線也就破裂了，這便是美國和其他帝國主義者關係的實質。

至於日本，它向來單獨行動，以獲得亞洲大陸上的利益為目的。即使暫時和他國聯合（如以前的英日同盟），也不過是彼此利用的意思，並非絕對地有與他國一致行動的必要。日本帝國主義以前和俄帝國主義在滿洲衝突，這是已往的事實。最近它和美國在檀香山方面，在舊金山方面，在庫爾島方面，在中國方面，各種利益的衝突，皆是不可掩的實情。去年美國海軍在太平洋的擴張，便是對日本的示威運動。前年歐戰飛行隊名義上是實地行全球，其實是偵察從亞拉加半島襲擊日本的可能與否。凡此種種，都證明帝國主義中間絕無合作的可能，祇要被壓迫的民族認清了這一點，便可以得着加倍的勇氣和毅力，向帝國主義的戰線猛力進攻。

以上將三大帝國主義者（英法，美，日）彼此不能合作的原因，簡略地說明了。這就是本文所要解答的問題的答案。現在我們認識下列幾點：

（一）帝國主義一個不知滿足的怪物，它不僅想吞食一切的被壓迫民族並且要吞食同類，如美國之於歐洲和日本之於亞洲。

（二）因為各帝國主義者想彼此殘害，所以它們的衝

突是一個不斷的現象，如英法的關係。

（三）各帝國主義者雖然有時也因利益相同，偶然結合，但是一到利益相反的時候，便馬上破裂相鬥，或竟戰爭。這就是帝國主義聯合戰線的破裂。

上文列舉各項事實，證明帝國主義聯合戰線破裂的時期已到了。中山先生逝世後一年，全國國民能乘帝國主義聯合戰線的破裂，作種種奮鬥的運動，正是中山先生不死的地方。今天先生的周年忌日，國民如能本着先生生平的精神，認清帝國主義聯合戰線之已經破裂繼續奮鬥下去，誓非達到先生未竟的願除不平等條約和「打倒帝國主義」兩種目的不休，那方才不辜負我們紀念先生的意思。

（註）日貨充斥全國，表明它工商業資本主義的猖獗，南滿洲株式會社是它財政資本主義的結晶。

總理孫先生逝世週年書感 柏文蔚

總理離開了我們之後，轉瞬間已經一年了，自此以後，年年今日，竟成了我們悲傷的日子。總理有如一顆偉大的光明的星，他在午夜的天空裏照耀着，引導我們，領袖我們，使我們向光明的地方前進，一旦這大星墜落，如何能像我們不悲痛呢？

在這一年裏，雖然我們失去了導師和領袖，但我們在黑暗與混亂的時局中掙扎的成績，尚足以告慰總理在天之靈，只是總理不能親見了。

至於這時期的一年裏的工作，第一便是掃清封建之思，如陳炯明林虎輩，他們歷年以來和北方軍閥與帝國主義者，互相勾結，同作反革命運動，現在已將這殘餘孽孽，肅清淨盡，這便是第一步肅清了我們唯一的革命根據地！第二便是統一廣東，在總理生前時，處心積慮，想

將廣東變成全國革命的中心點，不幸一般帝國主義與北洋軍閥的走狗們，從中煽動，以致總理志願未遂，便與我們撒手長辭了。現在的廣東已經軍政統一，財政統一，使我們的國民政府成了根深蒂固，行兇全國國民革命以及軍方被壓迫者聯合起來也都聲援此舉了。第三便是反抗帝國主義，在總理的生前與死時，便以聯合與我們同等的被壓迫的民族來共同反抗帝國主義相號召，這種號召曾得了許多弱小民族的同情，以及給與了帝國主義者的許多恐慌與後顧。如今我們國民革命軍同防衛軍團體，即反抗帝國主義主義的工具，雖然我們的希望未能完全實現，可是這殘廢的帝國主義，已經心寒，已經手忙脚亂，已經在末途中搖尾乞食。

關於總理死後的一年中的工作，已略略的說過了。我們再來看看現在的時局是這樣的渾沌，我們應該怎樣的繼續前進。

現在軍閥的搗亂，其主力便是帝國主義者在那里作他們的後方的老本，供給槍炮，補助金錢，幫助謀畫，使他壓迫民族來作反革命運動。近日俄與的勾結，與安福系盤踞首都，便是帝國主義者驅使這般帝國主義走狗們聯合戰線共同反革命的大規模運動！帝國主義之所以如此，正因為他們到了末路，不得已而作此最後的陰謀！有些人若果以為黑暗的力量，馬上又要籠罩了我們，便打起心來，那却太錯而特錯了。要知道這個時期，不但是帝國主義者末日的掙扎，也是我們革命運動成功和失敗的關頭！我們在這個時候，要是退讓了，那他們便可乘機而入，我們總理的主義，及同志們的辛勤，簡直可說是歸於一旦了！帝國主義猶如病菌，稍一不慎便可侵入你的身體，殺你的生命。我們反抗帝國主義正如同防止病菌一樣，時時留心着，

時時要提防！換言之，民族與帝國主義在今日是絕對不能共立的！帝國主義者若存在，我們必得死去！我們若存在，帝國主義定要給我們毀滅掉。

最後，來談談我們的黨軍。黨軍不特能超越現今土匪式的野蠻式的軍隊，而且具有專門知識與熱烈的主義的信仰，總理如生若存，對於這種一定是極其歡喜與讚賞的，因為總理的生前，是極其痛恨這般無紀律無政治教育無知識的軍隊。我希望明年今時，我們黨軍能掃除所有的革命的障礙，剷滅帝國主義的餘孽！那時青天白日的旗幟，光輝的普照了中華，這不僅是我們四萬萬人民的幸福，也是東方民族的福音！

東方被壓迫民族革命萬歲！

總理的革命精神萬歲！

余一人之私言 仇繁

孫中山先生逝世週年紀念，國民新報徵文及於兩端無文之余。余於中山先生素有特殊之崇拜與信仰者，安能默然。清季余於暗中謀革命，即知有孫文，遇有孫自東洋歸者，謂革命者當推之，弗斯入至，當謀其部下。余耳其之，時期望其一遇也。其後余亦東遊，並不見所謂孫文其人者。然年少氣盛，憤慨頗頗，慷慨激昂，皆有殺皇帝不用邪手之慨。英雄造時勢，又奚必孫文而後可以言革命者。其時東京革命之學生，幾如家常便飯，以不如此則為不時髦。即是權聞斯說者，亦只能默爾不言，反對者實寥寥無幾也。少年尤趨之若鶩，如今日之談共產者然，殊別愧與味，因其黨斯旨，號為同志。即如見如中生歡，傾忱相視，無復疑異。明從新黨，私立同盟，視為尋常。或殺賊營，或割藥藥，或歸國入會黨，謀揭竿以從陳涉元鳳之

後。方法雖殊，而厥途則一。余亦以此爲圖，作一度之試驗，不幸師於失敗。迨復回東京，同盟會已正式成立，以民衆爲其言論機關，推孫君爲總理，革命黨自是乃完全統一，而宏舉革命，與實行革命於是分矣。總會之外，有各省分會，余時爲湖南同盟會會長。一日同盟會發起全體大會，歡迎孫文。先生此時始就中山，發表所謂三民主義五權憲法。傾倒東學生全體，不論革命派與非革命派，無不至者。自是中山之名大著，余與先生關係，亦自此始。自是以後，三民主義，五權憲法，遂成爲吾黨不易之圭臬，國人亦知吾黨精神之所在矣。爾吾人最大之目的，雖已鮮明，然當時實以滿清政府爲其前途之障礙。不除此障礙，即諸事無從起。故當時之革命，言論事實，歸納之於推翻滿清政府之一途。於是復倡大唱反對，持君主立憲說，與吾人相爭。而革命黨戰戰兢兢。卒之民衆獨立之說，不可遷移，革命黨言論上已大佔勝利。迨至辛亥之役，革命於事實上告成功，先生遂於南京被選爲第一大總統矣。清室既滅，權歸袁氏，先生稱國人和平之請，立以大位讓之。適年而先生起，東顧則論議紛紛，先生立主與袁討賊，而同志中意見未盡一致，卒爲袁世凱所乘，橫遭殺害，黨人復亡命東邦。先生知政治革命之不可以已，而此時政治革命，視前此之革命尤爲艱難，非與黨人以切實之訓練及嚴重之約束，絕無成功之望。慨然於前此黨員之不服從命令，以致言論行爲無法統一，則更踴躍，另創中華革命黨。雖屬舊同盟會員，或前國民黨員，亦須重訂誓約，表示服從，絕無通融餘地。於時黨人之附屬者固多，而從持與議者亦不少，然先生自信力之強，幾不爲所動。黨員人數，因此雖有出入，而革命戰線則已歸於一途。當時袁氏勢力方張，爪牙滿布，內地革命，雖難得手。黨

人多屯聚東京，先生亦得從容籌畫革命事業與建設方略。余之獲知先生爲中國唯一無二之革命指導者，在此時也。請試論之。余之加入中華革命黨也，較他人略後，以余生平從事，必熟慮而始行，期於不復有所悔吝，蓋不僅於形迹上求共通，且須先於理性上求安定。先生之主持革命，固能與人以理性上之安定者也。創立一義，使羣衆乘之而趨，而其義又適爲時代所要求，成共通之原則，此爲思想家能之，如盧梭之義民約，洛克之自由，足以造成英法之革命，而爲後世談民治者不離之宗。先生之革命，即能建立一義以爲共通之原則者，蓋吾國近代以來唯一之思想家也。思想家非憑空可以成立，必以長久之時日，研覽事物，繼而筆書，如馬基斯之唯物史觀，達爾文之物种原始，皆非偶然成者，竭數十年之精力，考史實，觀遺說，原其既往，究其歸趨，而此說乃定，非學乃成。先生之思想，亦歷數十年研究而來。余最近先生之時，常於其讀書室，見其東面書櫃滿架，先生手不釋卷，且聽日人所觀吾國地圖於壁間，東望一點，西作一團，其處可練海軍，其處可開商港，其處宜開運河，其處應修鐵路，皆有標識，其動靜不無如此。先生又近代之學問家也，當時國人中有短先生者，謂其讀書，其學才亦所謂執鞭以向師範之類也。先生學識深純，豁達大度，與人和易，不較細故，不爲狡詐之計，不飾虛偽之行，其存心處事，坦坦好醜，皆與人以共見。其能斷諸口說者，即其所蘊諸心胸，初無表裏不符，言行相反之事。故當袁氏專政之時，對於黨人，常施其金錢收買破壞之術，黨人亦有欲以此術相周旋者，先生概不謂然，謂吾輩革命黨人，若用此術與人角，惟有失敗。吾人應一以吾人真實之精神處之，以求最後之成功而已。試觀其一生行事，何處不然。故由道義上觀之，先

生實可爲人類社會之模範耳。當民國十三年以前，其革命之人格與理想，尚在華盛頓與林肯之間。十三年以後，則又當與列寧，杜洛斯基爲偶。華盛頓之初期也，受命於敗軍之際，收拾殘局之師，與英人抗，屈足處，卜成敗於上座之前，卒能戰勝英人，成獨立之業。林肯當南北戰爭，倡言主戰，官戰之日，舉朝震動，衆若雲集，投票決，全體閣員九人，開票之際，僅大總統一人一票主戰，餘均反對。林肯乃起而致詞曰，余一票多數，主戰之議遂定，好在美國取總統制，故其說得行。卒之一戰而勝，美國不至南北分離，保全統一。此華林功業，在美國史上，了無鮮。先生自民二至民十二，十年之間，辛苦經營，外受北方軍閥之壓迫，內有部下叛將之倒戈，內外夾攻，此優越起，其所懷遠志培植之勢力，略有萌芽，忽被挫折，或至殆矣，則行棄去，若非先生之氣百折不回，君黨事業早廢，寧有今日之光榮乎。先生固平然視之，終能排去重難，與惡魔苦鬥，而青天白日之旗，固愈發展而愈鮮明，雖未能如華林二人之及身成功，而事業精神實與之上下而無稍異矣。觀革命之說，亦與時勢爲推移。自歐洲大戰，帝國主義之盛，爲社會黨通人所揭破，故不獨對內有民治革命之必需，即對外亦有民族革命之必要。而最足以爲吾人革命之證據者，帝國資本主義是已。列寧，杜洛斯基，輩利用時機，打倒其數千年根深蒂固專制之帝國，同時亦將資本制度根本推翻，建設蘇維埃政府，取用蘇維埃制，棄三權分立之陳說，而統於一權，以全國國民會議爲其最高機關，且發起第三國際，謀世界革命，引起羣帝國主義者之震怒，環而攻之。彼等卒能以其精練之紅軍，安內攘外，使帝國主義者無功而退。觀其所以成功之原因，則黨之組織堅固而有以致之耳。先生究心微事，餘力不遺

，以黨治國，本其素志，求之便國，更得一有力之證明。於是毅然改黨，其黨章半仿照蘇維埃法。其取義固精也，亦即蘇維埃制之尾端。其容納其黨派之入黨也，爲增加本黨之有力分子。其練黨軍也，爲前反革命勢力。此皆由於歷年之經驗，重以蘇俄之教訓，而有此更張，慨然企望成功之意，儼然以列寧，杜洛斯基，自居矣。故往蘇俄參觀起，依北方國民軍之力，直軍一敗塗地，此皆由於先生三民主義由南而北，所黨團發達而成。先生亦以國人呼籲而北上。對內倡國民會議，對外主張廢除不平等條約，而北方軍閥官僚，狃於險安之習，中於羣小之言，歸於帝國主義者之魔障，保而卻步，不首肯之而趨，先生此十載一時之機會，而先生亦以疲勞過度，一病不起，遂於去年今日與世長辭。余時方在天津，聞言大慟，舉食不能下咽，人之已已，邦國發憤，引領東望，我勢如何！一年易過，復逢先生忌日，而余適歸北京。瞻瞻眺眺，北方局勢，已視先生逝世之日尤壞。惟吾輩黨人，則自先生去後，猶有加，一若盛德大業之留遺，不克勝其負荷者。故一年以來，國民政府腐爛國治，清府廢之思，消反側之萌，治軍理財，安民去惡，一本先生建國大綱行之，無少顧慮，已克奏膚功，近且議北伐矣，此則足慰先生在天之靈者也。

十四年前的回顧

漢俊

中山先生逝世已滿一年了。但逝世這件事與中山先生這個人，總在我們底意識裏面聯想不絕來！我們總覺得中山先生仍然存在着，在領導我們，領導民衆，向革命的路上走。今天接到國民日報爲紀念先生週年，徵文的啟事，先生已逝世的這件事情又似乎是不能否認的了。因此，不禁發生了無從的感慨。這無限的感慨之中，有個懶愧

就是我今天要寫出來紀念先生並告訴大家的了。

通先生生前，我對於先生發生了最大感觸的有三次。第一次大概就在一九〇六年罷，先生由歐洲到日本，我在一位朋友家裏過暑假。這個朋友常為先生作日文翻譯，先生也常到他家裏會日本人。當時我十五歲，在國內小學的時候就已崇拜革命，知道先生是革命黨領袖，不知敬仰得怎麼似的。此次在這朋友家中頭一次見着先生，就歡喜得掉下眼淚。經朋友半開玩笑地說明我因崇拜革命，逃出學校，望着哥哥跑到日本來的故事！先生就笑逐顏開，問我底姓名年紀及為甚麼要革命，我歡喜的說不出得，但終於一句話也答不出。先生見了我這種情形，就臉上加出笑的皺紋，拍着我肩膀說：『好小兒，有志氣，中國有希望了！』我也如同觸着了電氣一般，不知如何就好了。我當時的歡喜的心情，先生當時的慈和的顏色，令我至今不能忘記。這是我由先生受了最大感觸的第一次。第二次，就是民國元年，先生在南京向國民黨員發表修路築港的計畫的時候。我當時以為滿清要倒，當面最要緊的政治上應與應變的事宜很多，而先生對於此時提出毫不相干的修路計畫來，而且計畫又這麼大。因此，對於先生也就發生了很大的失望。當時與我同感觸的黨員也不少，所謂先生為空想家的空氣也就是由此起的。而我因為以前對於先生崇拜到了十二分，差不多就作了天崩一般，在武昌的時候，就盼望先生趕快回來，為我們建造天國！現在先生回來，作了大總統，而竟把天國建造擱在一邊，提出這種想不到的大而又不關緊要的計畫來，所以失望也到了十二分，如同全身浸了冷水一般。等到民國五年，我在大學校馬克思底學說，知道了先生那時提出那樣計畫的意義之後，就又恢復對於先生的崇拜，同時對於

於以前失望於先生心骨不寒又發生了很大的悔愧。因以前失望到了十二分，此時的悔愧也到了十二分。再加以自民國元年以後，黨風底結束一天散漫一天，革命精神一天衰弱一天，還有的人已經投降袁世凱及其他軍閥官僚去了，有的專門作官去了，有的專為自己圖活動去了，而惟有先生革命的精神不衰。堅苦卓絕，仍然勇往直前，繼續革命的工作。因此，不覺又對於先生出了同情，且增加了崇拜心。只對於先生專注力於軍隊土匪運動而忽視宣傳的這一點，覺得有改良的必要。所以到了民國七年，初由日本畢業歸國，就到上海寓中訪問先生，說先生專注力於軍隊土匪運動而忽視宣傳，必無結果。因為忽視宣傳，所以連黨員都沒有幾個能瞭解三民主義的。如果把運動軍隊土匪的錢，拿來用於宣傳，其結果當不至於如此！不僅黨員得了解主義，就是普通國民也必得以了解。無民衆底了解，徒有軍隊土匪，是無用的。先生底對答就是：運動軍隊土匪，為的是要獲得政權，繼而作有效的宣傳，實行我底主義。沒有政權，一切都談不上。因此與先生起了一番激論，終於先生忿激地說到了：『你們無力運動軍隊土匪，且又怕死，所以反對我運動軍隊土匪。黨員不了解主義，有甚麼相干，只要聽我底命令就罷了。現在聽我底命令，仍不改的還是幾個老同盟會底人，宣傳新的分子有甚麼用？』我聽了這一番激論之後，對於先生又失望了，覺得先生是優越其理想，而難於實行的了。況且此時看見先生頭髮花白了，不覺同情之淚也要掉下來了。這是我由先生受了最大感觸的第三次。不過我現在要說的，不在這些，而在第二次感觸後所生的悔愧。

上面已經說過，我由先生底修路計畫，對於先生發生了很大的失望，後來接觸馬克思底學說，知道了該計畫

底意義，又發生了很大的悔愧。照馬克思底學說，一切法上，政治上，宗教上，藝術上，哲學上的諸形態，都只不過是社會底上層建築。而作這些上層建築之基礎的，就是社會的經濟的構造；這經濟的構造，就是與一定的生產力相適應的一切生產關係底總和。並且一個社會組織，是更包含在地理環境的一切生產力在地理環境底發展到無可發展了，社會底上層建築底更進步的生產關係底更進步的存在條件在舊社會底內孕育了，總能出現的。這就無異於政治制度必須與當時的社會的生產力相適應。中國當初成立民主政治的時候（就是現在也還是一樣），完全是農業的國家。按之歷史的事實，照看社會發展的觀察及馬克思所說，與農業的社會相適應的只有專制制度，而與民主政治相適應的是現代的工商業。中國在農業社會的生產力之下，樹立了民主政治，如果已急遽促進其生產力，使之達到能與現樹立的民主政治相適應的程度，這新樹立的民主政治，就是沒有基礎，沒有物質的存在條件的政制度，必不能穩固，必不能完成。要他穩固，要他完成，就非促進生產力，使他得到所必須的物質的存在條件不可。列寧在其共產主義的政治制度在大規模的近代產業比較幼稚的俄國成立之前，極力主張並促進大產業的發展及農業的電氣化，就是為此。中山先生在民元之前，提出那種路港計畫的，自然也是為此。先生在那個時代，就觀察到了這裏，實在令人可驚。而我們當時的智識不能了解先生底用意，反以先生為好萬空大砲的空想家，能不愧愧嗎？俄國得列寧底主張與規劃，而其共產主義的政治制度日見穩固，中山先生底計劃不得了解於其民元的黨員，而離成以後變形的封建制度及歷年的混亂。這又是使我們不能不更深一層悔愧的所在；同時，又是使我們對於先生底

逝世，不能不更深一層悔愧的所在。

先生一生卓見超羣，除馬克思和列寧而外，現代世界中無人能與比倫。先生抱着中國底民主政治必得中國有了現代大規模的產業發達之後，纔得穩固，纔得完成的卓見，又見到中國底國產產業底發達，必得先做出列強對於中國的經濟的支配。而列強對於中國的經濟的支配之所由來，又在不平等條約。不平等條約是使中國不能自由行使其主權。及關稅政策來保護其產業，而成了世界的自由市場的根源原因。中國在其為產業發達進之實質上，在這世界的自由市場之中，與產業先進國的列強競爭，無論如何，必歸失敗。同時，因為中國是一個世界的自由市場，所以列強都想獨占他，因而各各都補助一個軍閥，想他成為中國底獨占主人，自己好透過這假主人而實行獨占這個世界的自由市場。先生之所以初不惜運動軍隊土匪來求打倒軍閥的，不僅因為他們底互鬥足以妨礙產業底發達，實又因為他們是列強底爪牙，阻碍取消不平等條約，要自己握得了政權，好來與列強奮鬥，取消這不平等條約的緣故。先生之所以最初最反對英國的，不僅因為他對中國底經濟支配力最大，實又因為他是列強中強迫中國與外國結不平等條約開端者。先生之所以後來主張取消不平等條約，打倒國外帝國主義，打倒國內軍閥，許國際的反帝國主義者共產黨加入國民黨的，也正是要結合國內國外的反帝國主義者，推翻列強支配中國之經濟的在中國國內國外的憑藉，而使中國底產業得以無礙地發達，使民主政治得以獲得其所必須的物質的存在條件的。先生底卓見誠有如斯者，誠與馬克思之為世界革命底導師，列寧之為俄國革命的導師，同一樣的程度，是中國革命的導師。然而先生逝世了，中國底革命將來誰何人指導呢？先生逝世了，而中國革命

的工作上還有許多問題要解決，現在就已經有的不少了，將來也必還不少，將靠何人來解決呢？

我們曾記得辛亥革命前，於發起這一派的保皇黨說中國不能行革命，恐怕列強來干涉，而招瓜分之禍；先生曾毅然斷其謬，使一般同志得以勇往直前，成就了顛覆滿清之功。現在又有人說主張打倒一切帝國主義，恐怕非力所能辦，且恐有引起列強實行瓜分彼此共管之虞。又有的人說應行親俄，也恐有引起入室之憂。國民黨員中，持此疑慮者似乎也不少。先生逝世後，國民黨與階級鬥爭，共產主義與民生主義共產黨與國民黨，成了國民黨中最嚴重的論爭，大有因此引起國民黨分裂之勢。我們對於瓜分或共管，或者可以借各國利害之不同，及各國內部無產階級勢力之膨脹，而斷言其不能實現。對於親俄之爲引入室，或者可以借俄國已採社會主義的政策，無獲得利潤之必要；又日在帝國主義列強壓迫之中，有借弱小民族獨立以示威者，爲已助，以達帝國主義擴張之必要，因而有援助並親善弱小民族之必要，而言其實無是理。對於國民黨革命與階級鬥爭，或者可以因中國當時當國際帝國主義底巡捕，它得收些是國際帝國主義底家奴，實質是國際帝國主義底買辦，農民是國際帝國主義底原料生產者，兵士土匪流氓娼妓乞丐是國際帝國主義底失業者，中產者及手工業者是國際帝國主義底失業候補者或被擄取候補者；中華民國底國民就是國際帝國主義統治下的一個整個兒的無業階級，而斷言中國底國民革命就是一個無產階級向國際帝國主義者及其巡捕家奴買辦說論的階級中國。先生雖然曾經說過馬克思底階級論實說不能用於中國，但若先生還在世，或許非說因為專注重在國內，所以有是言；且所謂國民革命的國民之中並不包含國際帝國主義底巡捕家奴買辦

孫中山先生死去一年，在此一年中雖然有少數的國民漸次覺悟，或熱心提倡孫先生主義，大部分的國民却仍舊的不出息。滬案的事我們也不必提了，安福如何作孽，段祺瑞如何誤國，我們也可以不必再詳。單單看我們一年來之所謂大學教授及智識階級所弄的勾當，已足使我們十分灰心。仔細一看却只是去年的糊塗賬。此賬也，結起來恐怕要比孫傳芳要請段政府算一年開銷一萬三千萬元的糊塗賬還更糊塗。算起來於此糊塗過活的人，恐怕還更不名譽。所以我們現在談不到打倒軍閥，因為軍閥還不是我們所能打倒的。

二、論猛虎並非喪家之狗所能打倒的

今日之所謂打倒軍閥者亦無過以打倒軍閥之職務加之智識階級身上請他們來做民衆領袖及先鋒。軍閥等於虎，則欲打倒之者至少亦須偵覷結合起來方有略與比較之希望，若今之智識階級之一輩分則亮喪的可以，來看尼巴若喪象之狗，一嗅得虎的腥氣早已經了腳，一見虎君仍苦著還要去咬『娘』之研究系在外一面把抵抗以與猛虎抵抗，我們看一年來的智識階級，一方面想抵抗抗勢勢力，一方面却早已殺無形的打倒頂子送去，想與奮勢力拚合，一方面想猛猛進，一方面却在那邊躲陰作勢，以進而退的姿態，自然其嬌嬌媚媚若進若退若即若離的姿勢亦有三分的可憐處在，不過總意在小學教授中或言論權威中不妨多出點較有丈夫氣概止粗笨一點的人，不十分可人亦不重要。若據目前之現象而論，青年學生不知道，若所謂青年的導師，各流，君子等輩，不但永遠沒有打倒軍閥的勇氣本領與方略，就是兩字打倒軍閥的決心都沒有，或者認軍閥做『娘』，或者正在對帝國主義作這聲帝國主義廢止或會派為赤化，那麼還紀念什麼孫中山逝世的週年呢。

中華民國二十九年九月二十日

及其所繁榮的俾俾和知識者。我們對於共產主義與民主主義，或者可以說共產主義雖不掃馬克思用底唯物史觀，其在產業幼稚的國家，最初也脫不出民主主義的範圍，如共產革命後的俄國然。對於共產黨與國民黨，或者可以說共產黨未加以前的國民黨只是一個沒有氣的皮球，沒有煤炭的車頭，共產黨加入後，變成有一個有氣的皮球，有煤炭的車頭，也還有許多黨員冒險跑到北京來在事後會當議員，作總長，此時如果除去了共產黨，國民黨又必要仍然回到以前沒有氣的皮球，沒有煤炭的車頭的狀態，西山會議，同志俱樂部，民智主義同志會，孫文主義學會底成績，皆可為證；只有共產黨冒險隨該反對共產黨加入國民黨，國民黨員似乎沒有反對共產黨加入之理由。還有其他關於民權主義底民權究竟應該用甚麼方法表現出來，我們或者可以認為先生在前年入京時所主張的國民代表會議預議會，即職業團體代表制，就是人民表現其主權的方法。然而這個問題究竟應該怎樣解決？先生如果還在世，或者已為我們解決了。然而先生未及解決，就逝世了，將待何人來解決呢？將來或許還有更多更大的問題出現，將待何人來解決呢？三民主義底辯論和內容也還有很多很多的地方待充實待整理，將待何人來與以充實與以整理呢？還有最重要的，先生底事業將待何人來成就呢？朋友們！請注意！這就是我們底責任了。先生逝世了，我們底責任更重了。我們此時不要只管懷悼先生底逝世，應該大家起來擔負這責任，靜心悶想，勇猛向前，使先生底事業底於完成。這總是我们紀念先生底真諦呢！朋友們！大家努力罷！一五三六

汎論赤化與喪家之狗 林語堂

一、論今日尙談不到打倒軍閥

三、論中國人至多不過粉紅化並無赤化之危

所以對於這些多心的君子們，我們只有一句好話奉勸，就是諸君不必過慮，若是諸位所怕的孫中山給我們指導的路將使中國人赤化，實在不免是一種杞天之慮了。凡赤化即染者皆指清一色純白之紙覆加之以赤即赤，加之以赤即赤。若原地本不乾淨，加之赤而顯其赤亦必赤，此非呆痴即係愚而不靈。故若一切公正和，不偏不倚，惡惡相報之類者，再以「紅銀珠」或鮮紅血來給它擦擦噴染，結果進歩亦不過淡紅化而已，其結果若酒後初眠睡醒是有醉意一般之微紅，足以供過老與軍閥之調戲賞樂而已，何嘗當得了此面字「赤化」。一聞錢耳之名詞，為世界最顯赫最懼怕的貨色。所以一切所謂什麼赤化啦，共產啦，自由戀愛啦，都談不到，我們那裏有那資格，是隨蘇俄之後，如其中有亦不過此輩青年而已，若虛報及研究系諸公，一定叫他們有赤化紅旗之一日，「殺其頭而後充其軍」恐怕也是亦不來，也是慢法子想也。

四、論家未喪其狗必先喪

以上所說不是故作驚人之語，也還是中國人願意自己鄙薄自己，實即諸先生們一年來的行徑有促我們難免生此種感慨的地方。今日的青年最重要的義務就是須趕緊覺悟，須毅然下至開俄國之教，以及什麼什麼學者專家舊規的決心，而力謀自拔，因為倘你欲從諸君之領導，則非跟他走進中角裏或陷於不拔之地不可。若思猛進，惟有拿起棍子，自做自己的導師而已。因為虎掌之藥太多了，若想做狼，保存一點狼性以與猛虎相抵抗，即除去自己的

路之外，其遺未由。一個好好的中國人，受帝國主義之摧殘，還不能，他還不能，信路還電之宣傳，閉着眼睛，由英國人趕着馬車走着路，對中國人惟一出息的政府加以詬誶，與英人唱雙簧，英政府與廣東政府亦化為共產，使亦跟着廣東政府亦化為共產，此非喪家之狗之十足狀態而何？一個好好的學者，爲着要排起歐戰中之和之架，竟與英人我親同胞之時，出來說你們不要抵制英貨，因爲山東煙草每年要賣二百萬，與英人辦之報紙如孔出氣，結果博得英人十分之榮耀，又做了英國官，此非喪家之狗而何？人家若欲利亞爾人之民族，若土耳其，甚至於若非洲半開化之利夫民族與英法世界最惡之將軍決戰，我們還抵制英貨都不應該，此又非喪家之狗之一副活像而何？孫中山開張打倒帝國主義必須有相當之外交政策，即聯俄世界一切反帝國主義之民族，却有一部分主張先生們只爲帝國主義之走狗，此又非喪家之狗而何？孫中山先生主張廢除民衆，却有丁文江先生謂廢除一百個車夫，不如廢除一位坐車階級之人，正在那邊信信洋洋車階級，及深信外交官的夢。孫中山先生主張廢除不平等條約，却有某大學教授謂不平等條約係經中國政府簽字，廢除則等於失信，於道義上有妨碍。若此種之妙論，皆足以證明今日中國青年不能再有依賴一班國人君子爲領袖之夢想，惟有少數革命的領袖及孫中山先生爲我們披荆斬棘打出來的一條生路可以爲中國自強之道。喪家之狗，做英國官也好，同英人唱雙簧也好，找軍閥也好，總而言之，是不能做出國來的，更沒有同他們去打倒軍閥之理。家未喪，其狗必先喪，走到邊近去找吃，故喪家之狗多。大概即家快喪之兆。國未亡，狗亦必先亡，跑到敵人那裏去討便宜，若軍閥若官僚若買辦，若土豪，都是

五、論國民不應專責買辦土豪階級而獨寬容喪家狗之文妖

國民黨二次宣言似乎忘記此外還有一階級，就是文妖，大家以爲言論界與知識界是一致的，可以無礙。而殊不知今日爲帝國主義宣傳者乃知識階級自身之一部分人物而且大多數是比較落後的人物，即所謂出過洋，念過洋文的人，或自己翻譯過馬克思主義，或聽過德文的社會學書籍堆積的滿地皆是。（此說果信則不得不爲那些偽文藝憤憤）。因爲結果仍是投降研究系的投降研究系，勾結段公子的勾結段公子，做起來還是漢口的新名詞。若此之類不直之與軍閥，官僚，買辦，土豪同等，認爲軍閥及帝國主義之走狗，則對於買辦土豪亦可以不深責矣。

六、論國民應先打喪家狗再打軍閥

所以結尾，我也是無好話，只有引新報英國官之文江先生之言：『中國所以弄到這個地步完全是知識階級之責任』這話不是取巧，實在丁先生的話也有幾分是，因爲『知識階級』就有出了不少喪家之狗，以致中國之青年及下等社會失領袖解進一步又退三步，使中國弄到這個地步，而目前且不消政治的大勢，對外勾結帝國主義者，對內勾結軍閥。至於軍閥，中國弄到這個地步本來不必共負責任，自然不用說的，因爲軍閥大概不會錯的。若會錯，那麼知識階級也必不勾結也了。因此歸結來還是丁先生的話是。我們倘是重孫中山先生的理想國民政府實現於中國全境，非先把知識界內部肅清一下不可。所以欲倒軍閥還是須先除文妖。換句話說，就是我們須內除文妖，再能外抗軍閥。 三，十，早一，時四十分。

中山先生逝世後一週年

中山先生逝世後無幾週年，本用不着什麼紀念的文章。只要這先前的中華民國存在，就是他的豐碑，就是他的紀念。
凡我自承爲民國的國民，誰有不記得創建民國的戰士，而且是最第一人的？但我們大多數的國民實在特別沈靜，真是萬籟寂然不形於色，而況吐露他們的熱力和熱情。因此就更應該紀念了！因此也更可見那時革命有怎樣的艱難，更足以加增這紀念的意義。
記得去年逝世後不久，甚至於就有幾個說客些風涼話。是謂孫中山先生，是所謂賣國賊呢？是賣弄自己的聰明呢？我不得而知。但無論如何，中山先生的一生歷史長往，站出世間來就是革命，失敗了還是革命；中華民國成立之後，也沒有滿足過，沒有安穩過，仍然繼續着進取完全革命的革命的工作。直到臨終之際，他說道：革命尚未成功，同志仍須努力！
那時新聞上有一條鐵線，不下於他一生革命事業地感動我，據說當西醫已經束手的時候，有人主張服中國藥了！但中山先生不贊成，以爲中國的藥品固然也有有效的，診斷的知識却如：不能診斷，如何用藥？毋須服。人當垂危之際，大抵是什麼也肯嘗試的，而他對於自己的生命，也仍有這樣分明的理智和堅定的意志。
他是一個全權，永遠的革命者。無論所做那一件，全都是革命。無論敵人如何吹求他，冷待他，他始終全都是革命。
爲什麼呢？托洛斯基曾經說過什麼革命藝術。是：即使主題不談革命，而有從革命所發生的新事物在裏

面的畫圖一頁看者，否則，即使以革命爲主題，也不是革命藝術。中山先生逝世已經一年了，『革命尚未成功』，僅在這樣的環境中作一個紀念。然而這紀念所顯示，也是他始終永遠帶領着新革命者前行，一同努力前進，向這完全的革命的工作。

(三月十日晨)

國民政府基礎鞏固

王振衡

中山先生逝世一年後之廣東政績

在去年三月十二日，中國甚至世界上，有一異可比擬的損失，即爲中國自由平等而奮鬥之革命導師孫中山先生逝世是也。全國民衆，丁茲週年，莫不懷念先生，細想先生。然而帝國主義者與其軍閥等，無日不在攻擊或誣謗先生所遺留於民衆之革命大本營——廣東國民政府，與能實行先生主義，繼續先生事業之中國國民黨同志。幸而中國之帝國主義者，以爲中山先生一死，革命根據地的廣東，便立即動搖，然後等。幸災樂禍的心理，與其陰謀破壞之計，俱無由得逞。吾人於追憶先生之餘，所以以欣慰自己者，即不祇追憶先生者，即先生生前，其攻擊誣毀之伎倆無所施；而一年以來全國民衆因帝國主義對我國人爲不斷之屠殺，故於先生之主義，漸能爲深切之了解；於先生所手創之國民黨，加入者亦日漸踴躍。
狡猾的反革命黨，竟有一方自謂爲中山信徒，一方則有攻擊國民黨的言論。此正和列寧所謂壓制階級，當大革命發生時，常加以懷柔，且以野蠻之敵意，最狂熱之憎惡，以及虛言譏諷之詆毀，對付其敵義。及其死也，乃以黑手手腕，將已故之革命黨加列於神壇，而其革命真髓，純其革命精神。此較之及於仇視先生者，爲善尤顯。
先生逝世一年，而先生遺留下之事業，竟能於帝國主

革命及反動分子之見解所以顯明革命之必要，為長足之進步，忠實黨員的工作，實足以顯示先生在天之靈。在國民革命軍第二次代表大會宣言中關於清黨及革命黨，有極精確的記載。六月中旬，揭發楊希閔劉震寰之反革命勢力，以奠定革命根據地之基礎。六月下旬，受帝國主義者唆使之襲擊，而不為所屈，具聯合民衆對之奮勇反抗。七月一日國民政府成立一方對於帝國主義軍閥及一切反革命派，取不寬假不姑息的政策，一方對於民衆努力保障其利益，尤於居大多數之農工民衆，扶植其團體勢力，補助其組織，而促進其發展。故軍政統一，民政統一，財政統一，軍需獨立，及軍隊實政訓練諸端，均次第實現。使一般兵士將領官吏，失所依憑，而一般民衆，始不從爲積成所劫，而漸恢復其自由。八月二十日中央執行委員會通過，死於反革命之手，一時反動氣勢，爲之驟張。然革命派以不屈不撓之精神，應此巨變。二十五日逮捕嫌疑犯人，並解散反動軍隊，邪惡之徒，悉欲手就擒。魏邦平之徒，僅以身免，廣州革命軍根據地，反因此得一重之保障。及九月二十日更進而解散東莞增城實安一帶之反動軍隊，使劉震寰等，與吳如斯勾結，爲患之隱憂，爲之掃蕩。十月三日在廣州捕獲陳武等，以揭發楊希閔之陰謀，由是東征軍無後顧之憂，是而前，不幾一月，逆敵已肅清殆盡，惠潮梅瓊，以次肅定，南路諸軍，所向克捷，十二年六月以來，久淪化外之諸縣，始復歸版圖，廣東全省，始告統一。據黃昌毅君談話，國民政府關於軍政，現擬制五軍統名國民革命軍，每軍平均約二萬人，均一八一槍。在事務方面，則全隸屬軍事委員會，在指揮方面，則均受國民政府之命令。國民革命軍特異之點，即軍中另設有政治訓練部，下至每班，每排，

航政，電政，治河，鐵路，秘書等六處，下設各種分處長！土地廳內分土地，登記，沙田清理，秘書等三處，下設分處長及視察員；實業廳內分工商，農務，秘書，等三處，下設視察員。

縣政府組織，在縣務會議下，設縣長，（即民政局長），政務，土地局，教育局，公安局，等五局，及秘書處。縣長（或局）管理警察，緝捕，行政訴訟，救濟，消防，衛生，等五項；財政局管理租稅，公產，公債，預決算，會計等事項；土地局管理土地登記，沙田清理，地利振興，官產調查，及利用等事項；教育局管理學校教育，社會教育，慈善事業，社會事業等事項；公安局管理公路建築，公路管理，道路修築，及其他公用事業等事項。

市政府組織在市政會議下，設市政委員長（即民政局長），財政局，教育局，工務局等，及秘書處，以上各種組織案，關於省政府改組案，刻已着手籌備實行。至縣市政府組織，刻已由起草委員會詳細斟酌。至各局組織，由與各縣性質上之各局委員分任之。關於縣治分級標準，由民政財政工商等廳，先事調查報告，俟大綱決定後，再行全部起草。廣東關於民政方面組織，行見日趨完善。

廣東因軍民兩政，有前途統一之好成績。黃昌毅君謂因此財政之收入，亦極統一。在從前廣東全省統一時代，其每月收入，從未有過三百萬元者。在現政府之下，去年十二月收入，已及四百萬元，再加三個月之整理，每月收入，定超過五百萬元。預算廣東一省之收入，可達一萬萬元。總之所有之各種收入，均集中於政府之財政部。其他一切國家及軍事之費用，均由國庫支出。所有國家之收入及支出，均包括在國家預算之內。凡一切損害商民之苛捐，雜稅，及釐金，均將次第廢除之。

每連，上至每團，每師，均設有政治宣傳人員，每日對官長兵士講演三民主義，時事新聞，及救國救民種種詳細方法，國民革命軍，因在政治上受有此種政治訓練，故每次作戰，人人均能認識敵我目標，與保護人民之生命財產。此種有紀律有訓練之軍隊，在戰時能保護人民，在平時又肅清土匪，最近三個月，各軍分佈四鄉，專做除暴安良工夫，雖窮鄉僻壤，尚有土匪亂民騷擾，亦必搜捕嚴辦。廣東在歷史上爲多匪之區，人民難安居樂業。今忽得此良好政府下之軍隊保護，不啻重見天日。民政因廣東領土太大，以一個民政廳來指揮，當然有鞭長莫及之勢。就嚴格管理各縣行政之方便起見現分東江，西江，南路，北江，廣州，五區，每區暫設行政委員一人。此五委員均直隸於國民政府，專管各區縣知事之任免，與教育，交通，財政，警察，諸事務，而尤特別注重於交通，嚴令各縣知事，分區築路，限一年之內，全區得通行汽車。現國民政府又擬將各縣市政府組織改組上月二十日，省縣市政府之組織大綱，已由國民政府決定，並發交省政府遵照實行改組。省政府組織通過，即日實行。縣政府組織大綱通過，三個月後實行。在此三個月內，組織委員會，以兼收縣政府各項人材。並擬擬縣政府及市政府組織法。至市政府係指廣州特別市區以外者而言。

省政府組織，在主席會議下分財政廳，教育廳，農工廳，民政廳，交通廳，實業廳，土地廳，等七廳，及秘書處。財政廳內分省庫，貨幣，審計，稅務，租稅等五處，下設區財政分處及視察員；教育廳內分學校教育，社會教育，秘書等三處，下設區督學員，民政廳內分民事，公安，秘書等三處，下設區民政視察員；農工廳內分農人，工人，秘書等三處，下設區農工分處長；交通廳內分公路，

國民政府於軍政民政財政統一之外，注重肅清貪污吏賄賂及土豪，以正爲摧殘農工商各階級之利器。帝國主義者利用之，以冀得中國國民革命之生機。國民政府要人皆廉潔，若有不能廉潔者，即生阻力。故其重要爲肅清政府。此所以懲吏院及監察院其職權及工作，自爲重要。最近對於各種事業，更設調查委員會或籌辦委員會，以掃除積弊。

近八月來，反革命派假借反共產主義欲破壞國民黨之聯俄政策，打破反帝國主義的聯合戰線。大英帝國主義，會集封鎖廣州口岸，梗阻交通，日思所以顛覆之之欲遂其併吞之野心。北洋軍閥遣其艦隊南下，復伺廣東門戶，煽動失意軍人，以圖逞。然國民政府之革命根據地，不惟未曾鬆動搖，且益加鞏固。復積極整理，以謀長治久安之道。現在廣東政績，已爲全國第一。香港，上海等地，組織惡觀團，前往考察。即侵略中國，破壞國民革命勢力之帝國主義者，亦無相詭異。以視北京政府之窮相卑劣，爲霄壤。此中山先生雖遠然長逝，而其信徒，尙能忠實的努力工作，以竟先生未竟之志，實先生遺教所指示之力也。吾人深信左道是革命的路，反革命派，雖開或清亂一時，但終須倒斃。精衛先生說「你們若係革命，若係反對帝國主義，就請到左邊來，若係反革命，若係帝國主義的走狗，那就不妨到右邊去，也不必借什麼反共產主義來欺人而以此一句名言作此篇紀念先生小文的結論。

財政整理與國民政府之前途

齊志衡

中國國民黨以實現孫中山先生之三民主義，五權憲法爲目的，以喚起民衆，聯誼以平等我之民族，掃除黑暗

勢力，打倒帝國主義爲方法，而建設國民政府，以爲行政之最高機關。其必能統一中國，登斯民於衽席之安，促進世界之和平，雖時有遲早之難定，要不得遲遲而可知。然財政爲政府之血脈，財政支絀，則百事難辦，故善爲國者，必視整理財政爲要務之一。始見孫百府與之說也。故本黨歷史上之教訓於第二次全國代表大會之財政決議案中，認爲統一國家財政爲發展國家之唯一基礎。溯自中山先生逝世，即無日不以統一革命根據地之軍政財政爲懷。而孫百府，冥頑不靈，不能解先生之意，良可慨已！去年三月陳逆大敗，六月劉逆覆滅，軍民財政始有統一之曙光。十月克廣州，東江肅清。其後連環等處亦以次平定。廣東全省統一，軍民財政統一之成功，當然亦隨之而實現。財政統一實現之象徵，即其收入之漸漸增加。計民國十一年，廣東全省之收入爲一千萬，每月平均爲八十五萬八千元；十三年之收入，僅七百九十八萬六千元，每月平均爲六十六萬五千五百元；去年起迄之各月，收入約爲一百五十萬元，已較前兩年每月之平均數增加不少！至十月之收入，則達三百六十一萬六千餘元，十一月之收入，又比前月增二十餘萬元，十二月之收入，達四百萬元，則較前兩年每月收入之平均數，多至六十倍矣。據此觀之，則前途之希望，預計今年六月以後，每月收入可達八百萬元，預算廣東全省之收入，可達一萬萬元。夫在以前廣東全省統一時代，無論執政者何人，其每月收入從未超過三百萬元，而今則增加至如此之多，不知者或以爲國民政府其難免動索民財之弊，而豈知國家之增加收入，不必與居民有因果關係，苟得其道，民且受其賜耶？今者，國民政府於催科之中，不忌撫字之意，於應付軍費之外，又汲汲從事於發展國家之經濟及完成重大之計畫，而教育費，衛生費，改

。據財政部長宋子文之報告，謂：『此種辦法施行後，人民之負擔可輕，而徵收者之實行亦無從施用力。爲便稅項制度簡便起見，財政部已特別注意間接稅及物產稅，使此種稅項徵收之方法簡單而便利。關於煙酒印花稅一項，已有特別之成效，如煙酒印花稅之收入，於九月之內，增加十二倍有奇。』宋氏又謂：『財政部並設法使各界人士，對於國家之合法稅項，均有同等之負擔。』爲負擔稅之平均，本黨實重間接稅，不過因間接稅易行之故，所以不能進行國產稅。此宋氏報告中有注意間接稅之意也。

(一)改良幣制 廣東在軍政未統一以前尤其在前年陳桂軍盤據廣州時代，軍官專與奸商勾結，通設私鑄低價劣幣機關，其所鑄出之二角毫幣，每百元只取價銀五六十元，投機家無不購存。充作現款之用。據調查，約有此種低價之二角毫幣二千八百萬元，流入市面。此幣僅以廣州市面而計，其流入各附縣者，並未計及。此廣東劣幣之所以充斥，無論何人均受損失也。廣東之紙幣及銀幣之種類，本來甚多，而幣制又不統一，故其弊尚不止於劣幣而已，外國紙幣侵入廣東，亦使人民受重大之損失，因在找換銀幣時，外國銀行可獲厚利也。國民政府現決鑄足成銀幣，以代替日之低價幣，並已決定廢除內通低價幣，發行紙幣權，亦只以之與中央銀行，他銀行不得政府之特許，不得發行紙幣。是則幣制之統一，爲現實不在遠。

(二)發行庫券 國民政府爲集中政府所有之款項起見，以國家之中央銀行及其分行爲收入及支出之機關。各機關及各公衆之團體，須以其無償動用之金錢，貯蓄於中央銀行。至中央銀行對社會一般之貢獻，當然爲調劑金融。考中央銀行創設於民國十一年冬，開辦之初，廣州市民因受陳逆者立發行低價紙幣，停止兌現之苦，對於該行紙幣不

善市政建設亦漸漸增加，試問廣東全省人民，能不慶祝政府財政計畫之成功耶？有如是之財政而遂進取，斯爲易矣。

考前廣東政府收入之少，其重要原因：(一)由於縣兵悍將之覬覦與扣；(二)由於貪官污吏之中飽。自去年以來，財政既漸統一，此種弊端亦漸剷除，此即收入之所以大爲增加也。而產業之收入，鹽稅之整理，專賣制之整頓與推廣，亦與收入增加有關係。今後各事日從少，諸利日益興，財政上之收入，恐尙不止如上述之每月八百萬，每年一萬萬已也。茲再擬定國民政府之財政計畫及已實行而有效者如後，讀者，當知其前途之甚可樂觀。

(一)實行預算 自民國成立以來，北京政府曾舉行預算四次，都是有名無實！各省中則有所謂預算者，其不足信，亦無待言。環顧東西之先進國家，則其預算制度，無不整齊而嚴肅。國民政府雖於無預算，則收入與支出兩方面，均富有基本之困難，在本黨第二次全國代表大會以前，即組成一預算委員會，爲執行預算之籌備與預備。第二次代表大會已將建立預算列爲財政決議案之一項，則此項之實行自無間斷。預算立而百事得以接步進行，而人不敷出之弊亦無從發生矣。

(二)整理稅制 此項目前在於改革稅項之制，而使之單簡，且使人民之負擔平均。中國各省，釐卡或類似釐卡之機關，多如牛毛，其病民害商，早爲識者所詬病。而廣東因前此之紛亂，不法之徵收，更有多種。政府之意，凡種種之苛捐雜稅及不良之徵收制度，及其機關，皆決取消之。進是以推，改良鹽稅，取消釐金，不許商人承辦稅務等，皆可做到。代辦苛稅雜捐者，當爲減輕賦重之稅項，此種辦法，即能使稅項制度單簡，而同時並能消除其積弊。

前行使，後經國民政府明令財政部郵電總局及官廳所有收入，一元以上，一律以中央銀行紙幣出入，又在各處設立分行，爲兌換機關，由是漸行流通。去年東征時，陳逆及帝國主義者竟敢放言，謂不獨中央銀行，人民不知其計，紛紛持紙幣找換毫洋，中央銀行對此，並無留難，於是信用大著。現在政府之收入日見增加，各方存儲之款亦日見增多，則該行之活動力自隨之而更大，其進趨於國家社會，又烏能量哉！

(一)舉辦公債 國民政府財政部爲改進國民經濟，及興辦造幣廠，土敏土廠，製革廠及其他應辦各事起見，特發行有獎公債五百萬元，定名爲『國民政府財政部有獎公債』，由財政部以國家收入交中央銀行，爲還本給獎之擔保。其詳細辦法及規條，業經明令公佈。此後如再舉辦公債，其辦法亦當照此相同，蓋以公債政策之如何實施，已規定於本黨第二次全國代表大會之財政決議案中。舉辦公債以供軍閥官僚之揮霍，如北京政府者，其害誠不可勝言，若此之公債全爲建設事業着想，則不可同日而語矣。

(二)關稅政策 本黨第一次全國代表大會，已決定關稅自主及由政府分配稅收入。第二次代表大會仍本此意，以自主爲中國人民應有之權利，關稅一舉以能使國內工商業發達前途，關稅收入應存於中央銀行，關稅收入應由國民政府委派。此政策與外交有關，帝國主義者必將盡力加以破壞，然以吾黨不畏艱難之精神行之，固無不可成功者。

綜上所述，可知國民政府之財政基礎，已穩固；計畫逐漸實行，則其發展亦逐漸擴大，而吾黨徹底掃除黑暗勢力，打倒帝國主義偉大之事業之經費，亦將有源源之接

濟而不窮矣。歐洲十六七世紀時，各國無不注重於改良稅法，振興內國工業，以及消除財政上之種種積弊，而各國之統一事業，遂得財賦上之補助。德國預備德法之戰費，將普魯士所得之債金之一部分，撥充柏林城外之司邦圖，閱四十年之久，至千九百十四年大勝後，卒利賴之。財政計非之實，關係於國家前途，有如此者。此吾所以敢用財政之整理，推測國民政府之必將大有發展也。或曰：國民政府之財政，誠有可觀，然字之意，似以其計畫為決能實行也者，能無譏乎？噫！此言誠誤矣。先總理先生之訓曰：「知難行易，吾黨本此精神，既已為其難者，其易者反不能做到耶？嗟夫！先生之卒，已一週年於茲矣！吾人外視列強，無不以怒馬奔騰之勢而來，而回顧國內，軍閥之橫行未已，民生之塗炭已極！革命尚未成功，何以繼先生在天之靈乎！所幸者，國民政府，所在地之廣東，軍政財政已告統一，全國軍民財政之統一，將於是乎逐漸，其或可最先先生之遺教，而謀國民政府勢力之進展，吾黨同志努力之不懈，先生逝世之二週年紀念日，大中華民國革命之成功，則先生應可瞑目矣。

國民政府一年來軍政概略 李承記

廣東國民政府。自中山先生逝世後，一年以來，廣州所有一切反革命，均遭肅清。凡自設法，莫不盡善盡美。日軍，軍政及財政之統一，於茲告成。其所以能若此者，得力於有主義，有組織，有訓練之軍隊。蔣介石先生謂國民革命軍之所以能統一廣州者，乃各軍之能親愛團結也。以主義深入士兵之心，牢不可拔。試觀一年來廣東戰事，國民革命軍每戰皆捷。茲述廣州一年來軍事概略。

東江之役。楊希閔劉震寰兵不動，意謂中左兩路如不遇兵，則右路難獲勝，遲時即可調回車，一鼓而下廣州。不意軍事行動，異常神速，楊劉陰謀，因以未遂，惟楊劉野心未死，各軍皆以演進軍如此，請命討伐。而黨軍以得有楊劉與林虎電底本故，主持更力，於是汪精衛譚延闓即於汕頭會議之後，一致決定討伐楊劉，大計既定，遂於五月廿一日開始發動。時兩軍形勢，楊劉據廣州，黨軍則分佈於東江，且軍額未及楊劉，故國內人士咸為革命前途危。然黨軍兩軍深得其同情，將士亦皆用命，故革命軍能節節勝利，於六月十三日攻入州，楊劉大敗，先後逃港，托庇於外人府衙之下，以度殘年。

(三) 鄭莫之變

楊劉既倒，國民政府即從事統一財政，禁止煙賭。時廖仲愷繼任財政，主嚴最力，遂不免為莫之變。因有八月二十一日廖仲愷被刺身死之變。國民政府多方偵查，遂發覺主謀之人為朱卓武，而魏邦平，張瑞貴，林直勉，趙士觀，梁士傑等軍，相與勾結，共同謀亂。魏邦平且不惜受英帝國主義三百萬兩賄，欲將國民政府根本推翻。其時許崇智督軍調回，莫亦受梁張瑞貴之煽惑，陰謀叛變。政府遂以迅雷不及掩耳之手段，於最短期間將各叛軍完全解散，肅清武力。由湘抵粵，國民政府優遇有加，乃能與陳炯明勾結，幸發覺得早，遂於九月二十日將陳武扣留，其所屬於十月三日由譚延闓朱瑞兩軍協同解決。國民政府之反對軍隊，至是業已完全肅清。

(四) 第二次東征

先是楊劉謀變時，革命政府曾將駐汕許軍調回近郊，以防楊劉，潮汕粵入陳之軍手。陳炯明又勾結英人及反革命派，謀入寇國民政府。於是再出東征，令各軍於十月一日

過便橋，俾進退無礙者，其技無所售矣。

(一) 第一次東征

陳炯明自十二年夏叛變以來，即勾結北洋軍閥，無惡不作。迨中山先生逝世，陳即與東江，日圖反攻。中山先生遂決定出師東征，以靖氛。當時粵中軍隊，異常複雜，軍制不一，調遣亦難，且楊劉把持稅收，陳兵餉，遂致兵無常餉，士無鬥志。即許崇智，李福林等雖領軍之責，然以實力不敵，亦遂無而可如何。當時，果楊劉決心討伐，東江陳軍早已斷平，調兵不動，乃日謀推翻政府。是時中山先生已知舊式軍隊之不可維持，於是令蔣介石主辦黃埔軍官學校，期先造新式軍官，以備他日創造新軍之用。蔣氏受命之後，即積極籌備，遂於十三年五月在黃埔開學時江新戰起，中山先生遂動員北伐，以肅清直系。紀憲先生北上，竟於去年三月十二日，其門長逝，不意連門全國民衆，均深惋惜。然有一事，足以慰先生者，即陳炯明於先生逝世前五日一敗塗地，竄走閩邊。先是十四年春，陳因受段祺瑞及香港帝國主義者之援助，反及廣州之心，日益加甚。其時孫四起，謀以廣州為將不守。革命政府遂分兵三路東征，以肅清黃埔教導團任石路攻淡水，桂軍在中路攻惠州，馮軍在左路攻河源。右路遂將東莞，石龍，淡水，海豐，次第克復，於三月七日直入潮汕。十三日復破林虎主力於棉湖，十七日克五華，十九日復與前，林虎復遁，兵行所至，勢如破竹。出師未及兩月陳軍絕跡，東江，所未下者，僅惠城耳。惟中左兩路，迄未發動，故與陳軍正式決戰者，僅石路之軍及黃埔教導團耳。然增城之役，曾不少挫，非主義深入人心，曷能獲此。

(二) 楊劉之叛變

陳炯明於十月十四日攻克惠城，十一月三日佔領潮汕。肅清潮梅，為期僅一月耳。

(五) 鄭本敗逃

當東江戰事緊急時，鄭本股即勾結魏邦平，梁鴻林等進迫江門。初由師長陳炯明獨立支持，繼有第二三兩軍相繼加入，東征軍亦調集第四軍由葉金華師同援。朱榮德，李濟先後為總指揮，幸將高雷廉，次第肅清。復由朱李各率進及連。鄭本股雖頑強抵抗，然強弩之末，終於二月二十二日攜眷逃港，國民革命軍亦遂於二十四日進佔連城。鄭軍反革命，軍政至是殆完全肅清矣。

(六) 革命軍編制

國民革命軍之編制，係取三三三制，即三師一軍三團一師，三營一團，並廢去旅長。師長以上，冠以軍長之上，冠以總長。總長為最高軍事官，其職權為整理軍政及直接指揮各軍。國民革命軍共分六軍，第一軍軍長何應欽，第一師師長何應欽，所轄步兵四團，補充一團，砲兵機關槍各一營。第二師師長馮玉祥，所轄步兵三團，砲兵機關槍各一營。第三師師長譚延闓，所轄步兵四團，補充一團，砲兵機關槍各一營。第二軍軍長譚延闓第四師師長戴岳，所轄步兵四團，機關槍各一營。第五師師長譚延闓，所轄步兵四團，機關槍各一營。第六師師長張瑞貴，所轄步兵四團，機關槍各一營，又獨立營一營，又第二軍教導團一團，第三軍軍長李濟，所轄步兵四團，機關槍各一營。第七師師長王均，所轄步兵三團，機關槍各一營。第八師師長朱世貴，所轄步兵三團，機關槍各一營。第九師師長（未詳）所轄步兵三團，機關槍各一營。又第三軍教導團隊長李方正一大隊，又教導一團。第四軍軍長李濟，第十師師長陳銘，第十一師師長陳銘，第十二師師長陳銘，均各轄步兵四團，機關槍各一營，另南路第二師陳章甫所轄步兵三

國，均屬陸軍部。第五軍軍長李福林，第十三師長李
華，第十四師長程潛，第十五師長朱祥，均各轄步兵三
團，機炮各一營。第六軍軍長程潛，第十六師長楊源，
第十七師長吳鐵城。第十八師長胡璉，均各轄步兵三團，
機炮各一營。六軍之外，黃埔軍校直轄教導團師長王柏齡
，步兵三團。新編教導師師長王德功，轄步兵四團。另機
砲各一營。軍校入伍生三團，第一團團長（未詳）第二團長
李元佑，第三團團長張治中。統計全部人數，約二十萬人
，分爲六軍二十一師七團一獨立旅二大隊各軍皆有軍事學
校至軍校則必分三三期發足，計現行制額，官長之薪與
北方者相同。兵士之薪，則分上士中士下士三級，每月下士
十四元，中士十六元，上士十八元。軍服有夏秋冬三季，
不特適體，並且簡便美觀。軍械則爲軍官兵士自備之步
槍，與由外國之種種新式機關槍大砲等。莫不精良適用。

(七)革命軍精神

國民革命軍之官長，無論爲何級，均須爲軍官學校畢業者
。而第一軍且有數百上士之兵士，亦爲黃埔軍校畢業或各
軍中畢業者。故各軍之教育能力，上自官長，下及兵士
，莫不具備。其與全國軍隊之異點，則爲「國民革命軍」
中另設有政治訓練部。下自連長排長連上至每團每
師，均設有政治宣傳人員，每日對官兵長士兵，講授三民主
義，時事新聞，及救國救民種種方法。國民革命軍
因在精神上受有此種政治訓練，故每有作戰，人人均能認
清敵人目標，與保護人民之生命財產。因之人民莫不軍食
。誠心誠意以歡迎之。而將士則全無後顧之憂，一心
向前破敵。是以國民革命軍作戰，每戰必克有勝無敗。

(八)黃埔學生

國民革命軍第一次全國代表大會確立實現三民主義之政綱

政策後，中山先生知非有武裝革命分子，於國民革命之
進行，甚爲困難。於是首先創辦有主義之軍人，黃埔軍校。
于十三年冬成立。軍校成立半年後，第二期學生五百餘人
，即行畢業，組織教導團，學生充下級幹部。其後又次第
成立三團，約四千五百餘人，訓練未及三月，即能從第一
次東征大敗陳軍其後，二次東征勇往直前，所向無敵。
其敵人至稱爲敵軍所未有，其神勇亦可想見矣。其所以能
在革命初步中大放異彩，即爲有主義的訓練，全爲民衆利
益而奮鬥，故到處能得人民之熱烈歡迎與贊助。其訓練
諸役，農民軍食糧以迎，爲作嚮導，工人熱烈幫助，離
工犧牲亦所不惜，此爲軍一往無前之唯一原因也。國民
政府統一軍政後，改組爲國民革命軍第一軍黃埔軍校，已有
三期學生，第二期前歲已畢業，第二期八百人去年八月畢
業，已分配於各部隊。第三期十二月人去年年底畢業。至黃
埔軍校之組成分子，十分之九爲學生，有留洋學生，大學
教授，大學學生，中學學生，亦有極少數之尚未畢業
者，餘十分之一爲農工籍貫除各省人外，有湖南，安徽，
蒙古，西藏諸人，此亦現代國民革命與世界革命實不可
分之一證。黃埔軍校訓練並重，且學生自己組織之軍校特
別區黨部即爲自己訓練自己，並以宣傳民衆之機關，故黃
埔學生不徒自認爲革命的犧牲者，且爲主義之宣傳現在唯
一之宣傳及工作，即國民革命口號「打倒帝國主義及其走
狗軍閥」，在過去一年中，已有此種偉大精神之表現故帝
國主義者其是遠近珠江之香港政府，對此新興之革命武力
，疑懼不安除拚命經濟反革命的軍閥武人包圍革命政府外
，即多方造謠以誣害真相。黃埔軍校此時不徒指導一軍而
革命，並能領導國民政府統屬下所有之國民革命軍，不徒
做革命的軍事運動，並能指導廣東工商學各界民衆之

中國國民黨第二次全國代表大會

政治報告

汪精衛

各位代表：兄弟今天要把第二次大會以後至第二次大
會以前所經過的政治狀況作一個總報告：這個時期當中，
差不多是兩年，在這短少時間，所能報告的，只是一些重
要的事件。而且關於軍事方面，尚有蔣介石同志報告，財
政方面，有朱子文同志報告。不過說及政治，不能不
連帶到軍事財政方面，不說到便不能明瞭，所以兄弟今天
所說也要把關於軍事財政的，說個大略。

這兩年中政治狀況，可以分作三個時期：

第一個時期是從二次大會以後，到總理北上辭職，就
是由十三年二月至十二月。

第二個時期是從總理北上辭職到總理逝世。這個時期
很短，但關係却甚大。就是由十三年十二月至十四年三月。

第三個時期是從總理逝世一直到現在，就是由十四年
三月到十五年一月。

先說第一個時期：自從第一次大會提出宣言說明中國
之現狀，解釋三民主義之真諦，並決定了最低限度的政綱
，大會開會後自應遵照政綱去實行，但可惜那時種種障
碍都還未除去。黨的最高權力原在中央執行委員會，總理
當時要把軍士上的同志都加入在內，所以胡漢民國李烈鈞
柏文蔚等繼任爲中央執行委員。總理之意，是希望軍

事上的同志，合攏起來，實行大會的種種決議案，使大家
能真實在主義之共同目標下，不將這個意思絕對不能實
現。楊希閔劉震寰都在廣州有最大的軍事上的勢力，却都不
願真心實行總理的主義的。其時許崇智同志是在上海，
至三月後才回廣州，譚延闓同志軍駐在北江，後來以出
發東江，受楊希閔軍隊之壓迫，生存尚且不暇，更何從
說到發展。雖然由總理召集各將領，開過幾次軍事會議，
通過了許多重要提案，到底也是陽奉陰違，總無辦法。一
次總理覺得軍太痛苦，十分受不住了。他們當時有四句
很傷心的話，是「飯不得食，寒不得衣，病不得藥，死不
得埋」。但楊劉兩軍却還繼續，把全省財政通通拿在手
上，直不肯放鬆一點，給軍可以生存。記得一天總理在
軍事會議席上，有過十分沈痛的話。他說「這桂軍各軍官
，你們趕走了陳炯明，我是很感激你們的。當時我在上海
沒有一點實力，原本不想回到廣州，正是想用心讀書，把
我的政見，向廣東父老兄弟宣傳。後來你們都派人來到上
海，要求我即時回到廣東，自當盡心盡力，服從我的命
令，實行我的主義。我更是感激你們。因此我才決意回來
，誰知你們都是戴著我的帽子，來誣陷我的家鄉。我是革
命黨人，犧牲是不惜的。如果國家有益，我就約同廣東
的父老兄弟一齊犧牲，也都是應當的。可是你們把我的家
鄉這樣誣陷，而於國事是毫無益處的，那我就不能再和
各位一塊辦事了。我不得不和你們離開，我要回香山去了。
當時楊劉諸人聽見這話都說「大元帥今天何必生氣，你
要我們怎樣，我們都服從你就是了」。總理因此才提出財
政統一的辦法，這個議案當可一致通過了。但後來一點沒
有實行。各軍依然是就自己勢力所能及的就隨意搶收分
了去，到底是毫無辦法。到九月十三日總理決定北伐，委

廖仲愷同志做財政部長兼軍需總監，又兼廣東財政廳長。把財政全權交與一人負責。總理就和譚延闓同志出發到韶關。當時廖同志有一個通電是很沉痛的，電中說及廣東的財政情形，如果各軍都肯捐除私見，則拿現有的收入，借給各軍是很夠的。如果各軍仍舊是任由這些兵悍將，拿官防吏，隨意剝削人民，則必至軍隊不能打仗，官吏不能做事，人民也日益窮苦。這通電的目的，在勸各軍交還財權。各軍也隨着發出許多響應的電，但却止是一個空言，沒有一個人肯交一個錢出來。廖先生因此親到韶關再見總理。說明在這個情形之下，叫他做財政當局，也是無用的，不特不能實行什麼財政計畫，就憑一紙空文是沒法的。與其使他做財政當局，不過是空符大元帥多獲一個虛名，不如准他辭職，還容易使人民知道不該軍隊把持的罪過。廖同志因此就不做財政當局，專任中央黨部辦理黨務，並在粵軍軍官學校代表，實心從事政治訓練的工作。這時政治上軍事上財政上是這樣情形，簡直是萬事都無從辦起，與第一次大會以前是一樣的沒有分別。但自從蔣介石同志受總理命令，組織陸軍軍官學校以後，和廖同志及各同志用很大的精神，從事革命事業打好了一個穩固的基礎。此事蔣介石同志另有報告，此處不必詳說。此外還有兩件大事，也於革命事業的基礎，有極大的關係，而且和軍事是聯在一起的，一是外交方針，一是農工運動，農工運動，中央黨部另有報告，如今把外交方針敘述一過。

要敘述外交方針，必要補說總理一切經過。本來總理致力國民革命之目的，在求中國之自由平等。既要求中國之自由平等，便不能不取消不平等條約。既取消不平等條約，便一定要問到這些不平等條約，究竟從什麼地方來。由此推究，即知從鴉片戰爭後的南京條約，英法

聯軍後的北京條約天津條約，一直到庚子賠款後的辛丑條約，以至民國四年的日本二十一條件，都分明是帝國主義國者之作祟，故此反對帝國主義，實是合理的，亦即本黨向來目的，不過在辛亥革命未成以前，却未曾明白提出取消不平等條約這一個口號。到民國元年一月一月，總理就職臨時大總統宣言，才說出一吾人盡文明國應盡之義務，同時要求文明國應享之權利。這兩句話實是在即取消不平等條約的真義。不平等條約的罪過就是中國國權義務而絕無權利。所以那時雖沒有明言取消不平等條約，但這兩句話，說起來已很惹起外人的注意了。民元二月，總理辭職，來到上海，赴過一次租界外人的歡迎會，就已經明白說過他所要求於各邦人士的，是要把租界交回我們中國。這可說是中國取消不平等條約的第一案，但從這日起，外人的報紙，便開始訾笑總理，決心幫助袁世凱去反對中國領革命黨了，外國帝國主義者，更答應袁世凱的大借款，因此才有民二東南的戰事，袁世凱即利用大借款以掃平東南幾省的革命黨。因此才有民五的洪憲帝制。因此才有民六日本利用段祺瑞，給以參戰借款及各種借款三萬萬以維持日人之一條條件。此時可說已是革命黨與帝國主義者短兵相接的時期無法而可以避免的了。民六俄國革命既起，全世界帝國主義者一致攻擊蘇俄，証之為過激，絕之為地獄。但那時總理便說，俄國革命必定成功。歐戰中的同盟協商國都一定失敗。民七總理在廣州辭去大元帥職，復回上海，因為深恨帝國主義者之日日把蘇俄造謠，曾打一個電報蘇俄，慶祝他的成功，鼓勵他們繼續去奮鬥。其時世界上的交通機關都在帝國主義者的掌握，電報是不易打去的，很曲折的才托美洲的華僑同志，打給俄國。列寧此時正在帝國主義者四面的封鎖，忽然接到總理這一封電

，實在生出意外的感動。認為這是東方的光明來了。總理與俄國的同志，雖然在歐洲已會過面，彼此討論過革命事業，知道他們的旨趣的，但打電致謝以此為第一次。到民九民十間，蘇俄已經打倒了帝國主義者的封鎖，能夠用其餘力，來幫助世界一切被壓迫民族的解放。列寧更決定了一個計畫（一）對西方的被壓迫民族，助他們聯合起來。（二）對東方的壓迫民族，也助他們聯合起來。他派到東方的同志，有一個叫做馬林。馬林在民十曾到廣州，總理當時正在廣州桂林，馬林去見他。總理當時曾打一封電到廣州給廖仲愷同志和兄長兩人，說他見過馬林。心上非常高興，深覺他建國方略的實業計畫，一定能够實行。並說他從前聽聞蘇俄實行共產，很是詫異。以為俄國的經濟狀況，共產的條件，還未具備，從何實行。馬林來，才知這俄國之經濟政策，實與他的實業計畫差不多一樣，所以非常高興。這便是總理聯俄的起點。可是馬林由桂林來到廣州以後，他却表示非常失望，他以為蘇俄經濟政策與總理實業計畫暗相符合這一點覺得高興外，此外一切，他都失望。他對總理說明，與本黨的組織方法宣傳方法都表示失望。並且且謂定香港帝國主義者必不容廣東政府的發展，陳炯明與總理，一定不能相容。這些話他對廖仲愷同志和兄弟都一樣說法。對別人如何說明不得而知。是時中國共產黨會和吳佩孚有過來往。馬林也曾去見吳。他說吳的兵力比陳炯明高過十倍。但可惜他總不懂什麼政治。兄弟因此聯想及以前曾有一部分同志，批評李大釗同志不該和吳佩孚來往，須知道在那時候，李還未加入本部。他拿共產黨資格與吳來往，確是有的。他忽用吳佩孚共產黨，偽國民革命事業，這也是革命黨有之事實，有什麼可以反對。一直到民國十一年六月十六日以後總

理遷離廣州，八月十五以後，已回上海，其時中國共產黨還很幼稚，才陸續加入本黨。最先加入本黨的，就是李大釗由張繼介紹來的。李當時曾對總理說明他是第三國際黨員，是不能脫去第三國際黨籍的，不知總理能否許可接納他。總理答他，這不打緊，你儘管一面做第三國際黨員，儘管一面加入本黨幫助我。從此以後中國共產黨員加入本黨的便多起來了。後來蘇俄又派趙世炎到中國。他到上海時曾見總理，並且曾聯合發表一個宣言，大家都承認中國現在最迫切的是反抗帝國主義。不久趙飛因為抱病由上海到日本東京。總理命廖仲愷同志和趙飛同行。彼此在維多利亞住了一月。此時東方人未知道的許多事情，廖同志便已知之甚詳。如俄國之現狀，俄國對東方被壓迫民族之政策，與俄國何以想和中國攜手之原因，都已十分了解，所以十二年春間廖同志由東京回廣州幫助總理辦理聯俄的工作，當時許多同志懷疑，而廖同志却毅然決然去幹，其中實有原故的。因為有一個月之久和趙飛互相辯論，把各種問題通通研究過了。由此總理與蘇俄的關係更日深一日了。是年夏間，總理更派蔣介石同志赴俄。蔣同志到莫斯科時，列寧已經病重，但也見過托羅斯基諸人，經過一番切實考察，知道紅軍的組織，和共產黨嚴嚴的紀律，遂為後日回國改組本黨和開建黨軍之一大動機。總理從此便決定與俄攜手了，共同奮鬥，程度又進一步。蘇俄也決定，幫助東方民族革命，非幫助本黨不可，非幫助總理不可。因此才派鮑羅庭先生到來廣東，其時正當陳炯明林虎的軍隊，陷了石龍，攻到廣州近郊，用饑了漢桂粵湘鄂豫諸軍，才把他打退。鮑先生到粵後與總理商量許多，才決定改組本黨。因此才有十三年一月本黨改組之事。可惜的在第一次大會時，恰正接了列寧逝世的凶耗，總理當時甚覺

悲痛，曾序會開天志哀，並親自出席追悼大會，演說他哀悼列寧的感想。大家須知道，當時各國還沒有一國承認蘇俄，雖然第二國際的首領麥唐納，正在初就英內閣總理之職，但和蘇俄還未有恢復國際的關係。而我們廣州和香港政府，却已明白列寧是開過會了。其後俄國復派加拉罕到中國，商量中俄協定事情。蘇俄當時本也知道如和廣州商量這個協定，很可以使中俄關係更加明瞭。但我們的政府尚在實力未充。即使訂定，也效果很小。所以不能不和北京政府的代表商量。只要確實的取消一切不平等條約，便和蘇俄人訂定，也都是於中國有利益的。因此加拉罕才和北京政府的代表訂了中俄協定。其時兄弟團總理命令，到北京去和同黨商量進行北方黨務，會和加拉罕談過。他直說他不能代表中國，不過用曹錕現在的地位，商定了中俄關係，把從前蘇俄時代訂下的一切不平等條約，通通取消，先以此事作一個結束而已。中俄協定成後，更使本黨與蘇俄的關係又深一點。但因此同時更受帝國主義者的忌恨。他們見得本黨聯俄，無法破壞，就在上海天津香港各地的外國文報日日造謠，猶以爲未足，更想利用到實力來破壞。因此還有是年十月十五日商團之變。此變原委八月一日，商團團長陳炯明實行買辦陳炯明，由蘇漢路管理許崇智介紹，到軍政署領取一張買槍執照，此照發出之後，不到幾天，大批槍械便已由那威德運載入口。總理當時非常震怒，因爲各國軍隊與中國人民必須先得中國政府之許可，才可以訂立合同。如今倒到執照止是四天，槍械便已入口，顯然是老早交易妥當，且已運到，不過等候到執照，才火運進來。所以總理便把槍械扣起，並且從嚴查究。但因此引起商團之罷市。英帝國主義者竟敢公然於八月二十七日，致一併類似哀函

美敦的通訊，給我們的外交部，說是聽聞我們已開砲攻打商團，如果真是事實，英國的海軍司令官，也就會令艦開砲攻打我們的官吏。這般通訊，比之民四日本提出之二十一條，實是同等之圖恥，以總理之志氣，此時更憤到不可言狀了。可是因爲當時的環境太惡，也不得不暫時對於商團委曲求全。這也並不是因爲怕外人的勢力，實在因爲當時商團發生變行起這班兵將，已經和商團勾結，不肯奉總理的命令，去解散商團，而商團因爲待他們有兩個後盾：（一）是英國帝國主義者（二）是我們政府所訂下的聯兵草約，使得我們一定不能打他，因此才有十月十日的慘案。商團維持槍械北運至前在王總行的學生廣場上大肆行刺殺，連死及傷，至有數十人之衆，政府至是更不能忍了。只得把自己所能調動的軍隊，如許崇智的風軍，李福林的兩軍，吳鐵城的警備軍，葉舉的軍，和黃埔軍校的學生，合編起來，於是月十五日才把商團打倒。因爲打倒得很迅速的緣故，到後來商團派人到港或來港游說，港警說：「已經完了，來不及了。」這便是商團勾結帝國主義來推翻革命政府的一段故事。商團之所以勾結帝國主義，帝國主義之所以利用商團做工具，固然因爲總理以聯俄爲外交方針，故不惜有端破壞。然農工運動之擴張，亦是造成此次反動的一個原因。本來本黨對於經濟方面之主張，早已於第一次大會宣言中，解釋明白。是年並曾開過廣東講演會，說明了總理的實業計畫和本黨的政綱。一面幫助農工，一面也保障商民。不用說限制資本平均地權兩項政策，於地主資本家沒有什麼不利，而反抗帝國主義的運動，正是對於經濟落後的現象，爲對症發藥，無如那些士家買辦却着實要不得，認爲這就是過激，這就是太激不道，其真不識的狀態，恰如從前官僚紳士，反對民主制度

認爲犯上作亂一般，還是不做這帝國主義的走狗，來反噬革命政府。當時革命政府外則受帝國主義之欺侮，與北洋軍閥之壓迫，叛軍之侵擾，內則受諸軍閥之牽制，士豪買辦之毒害，真是重重迫脅，幾乎窒息。在此時期，本黨除了招集黨員，準備一切革命的工作以外，實無何等表現。是爲第一個時期。

現在要說到第二個時期了。這個時期是由總理北上起，至逝世止。總理北上之目的，當時很多人以爲總理是要和軍閥合作，要和平讓讓作案妥協去分權，這是錯的。但是總理也知道國人會有這種誤會，故此到了上海之後，便邀上海全體新聞記者談話，說道：「我這次北上是有兩個目的，（一）召集國民會議，是對待軍閥的。（二）廢除不平等條約，是對待帝國主義的。」由這一段話看來，就可知道總理北上之目的早已決定了。當時總理還說道：「我負着這個責任北上，是很危險的，但也不必怕。只要全國國民能瞭解是。」隨後總理并且曾到日本，要求日本民衆也共同反對帝國主義，幫助我們中國革命，取消不平等條約。所有議論，都在「孫中山先生經過日本之言論」一書，不必詳細報告。原本總理到上海時，已受租界外人的壓迫，後來由日本到天津，法領事竟不許總理通過法租界，更不許在法租界住。北洋軍閥因此便說總理在外交上的感情不好。不知道總理的主張和帝國主義是針鋒相對的，當然會引起帝國主義的反動。記得當時張作霖也曾和兄弟說：「我從前以爲孫先生是個什麼難說話的人，今日才知他原來是一個溫厚君子。只是北京各國公使都不肯成孫先生的，大概是因爲孫先生聯俄呀。你可否請孫先生拋棄他聯俄的主張，在我張作霖身上，包管叫各國公使都愛和孫先生交好的。」當時我答他說：「孫先生爲甚

麼聯俄呢？因爲俄國以平等待我，如果各國也以平等待我，孫先生便都可以和他們交好的。」張作霖至此，見話不投機，便不再說了。因爲他們當時正在和外交團商量，把算軍不平等條約做承認臨時執政的條件。到十二月十四日，許世英來公辦兩人到天津見總理，總理當時的病略好一點，就問他：「聽說臨時執政已經接受外交團尊重不平等條約的通訊，是不是呢？」許世英兩人答：「是的，總理當時便很生氣，說話也較平常大而急促。我勸總理不必多說話，總理才對我說：（你和他們說去罷）！總理在這時候雖然生病，從來沒有發過熱，自從聽了段祺瑞接受外交團這一通話，養氣生氣，是隨便發熱起來，固然總理所患的病是肝病，大家知道是不治之症，但當時病的加重，可以說是實在因這一氣的。後來我和許世英來公辦兩人說：「取消不平等條約。這事，原不只是孫先生的主張，自巴黎和會就已經提出。後來因爲巴黎和會會長克里滿斯說：這事不是巴黎和會所能解決的，可以留待將來國際聯盟去解決。所以和會才把這案保留，以後到華府會議，我國還是提出。這是全國國民的運動，你們軍是要弄一個執政的地位，便連這件大事也輕輕擱掉，如何做得。」他兩人問我怎樣辦，我說：「你們執政還難，可以說外交團的來歷，暫時可以承認，但廢除不平等條約一事，是全國民衆的要求，我們也是一定應做的。現在執政正和廣州革命政府的領袖孫先生合作，孫先生是以廢除不平等條約一事爲當務之急的，執政當然同意並且要幫助的。如此則問最低限度的讓步了，許世英兩人卻說：『好我們就這樣告訴執政這樣辦罷』。是晚我們把此事報告總理，總理說且看他怎樣再算。誰知他們後來對於此事，竟沒有辦到。十二月卅一日總理到了北京住在北京飯店，當時總理是打算病

好再來審門的。不料段祺瑞此時，却主張石叻善後會議，以替代國民會議的預備會議，總理爲委曲求全起見，於十四年一月十七日通電（就是令人注意的續電）主張善後會議應加入職業團體代表。以爲如果達到這個目的，則是真正民衆的民主張在內，則我們的預備會議的主張也可以退讓。誰知段祺瑞對這一點也沒有誠意，所以總理才吩咐張買，不許加入善後會議。到二月廿六日總理的病愈重了。其時就有一部分的人有不滿意，不遵從的決議，加入善後會議。至於馮自由江權藩等，又組織什麼同志俱樂部，不惜變節賣身，以達他升官發財的目的。這班人還說我們利用總理的病，以破壞協定合作呢。以上就是總理和段祺瑞絕交的原因，總理開國民會議和廢除不平等條約兩大主張，雖然受制於帝國主義和軍閥，不能實現，然一般民衆，却已爲總理的人格精神所感化，一致擁護此兩大主張。所以總理逝世之後，北京民衆，有空前的追悼，五卅以來，各處反抗帝國主義之高潮，及最近北京倒段之大運動，都是總理所播下的種子。總理雖然真志以沒，然其成功已達了

如今更說到第三個時期：自從總理北上以後，陳炯明以為有幾可乘，又想作怪了。本來總理當出師北伐的時候，已經先把國恩惠州並駐紫石龍的軍隊撤退，希望陳炯明也捐軀成仁，向兩廣方面進發。但陳炯明却因此天天造謠，說某日解惠州之圍，某日克復博羅，某日克復石龍。到後來曉得總理病重，更加歡喜，一面聯絡桂軍做內應，一面派代表到北江參加邊後會議，勾結粵桂兩班人，要求陳炯明幫助他攻打廣州。因此才有去年二月間陳軍攻廣州的事情。此時譚延闓來往之兩同志擔任保障北江，許汝為蔣介石廣佈宣傳個同志出發東江，周約楊希閔劉震雲共

同擔任敵敵的，無如楊劉袖手作壁上觀，還不能不單獨作戰，不把陳軍驅逐出潮汕以外。這事始末蔣介石同志還有報告，故不多說。自從東江平定以後，就發現楊希閔范石生等與林虎來往相函電，知道他們通敵的情形，這是陳軍編旅長攻入興寧以後，在林虎的司令部內找着的。此外更發覺了劉震雲親到該處見范石生密議，叫他們派遣兩軍軍隊攻打西貢下廣東的安祿，一路由龍巖帶兵從白色人柱，一路由惠來經惠來兵從桂林人柱，最要邱邦柱在香港與帝國主義者勾結，更和廣東的劣紳買辦勾結，叫他們打電給北京政府，推戴他做廣東督理。這般的陰謀毒計，已醞釀成熟，當時留在廣州的譚超英朱雲之兩同志覺得非常痛心。便派人到汕頭和許崇智諸同志商量，決定推翻楊劉的計劃。關於軍事上的動作，也留待蔣介石同志報告。現在所說的只是政治上的設施，因為我們覺得如果這是打倒了楊劉，而民國十二年來的惡化政治不能根本改造，也是無用。所以在去年六月一日，由中央執行委員會通過了一個嚴重的決議案，大致說明我們欲整頓軍國，必先從整理廣東入手，而整頓廣東，又必先從整頓軍事入手。所以第一要軍事統一，第二要民政統一，第三要財政統一，軍需獨立，第四要各軍都受本黨政治的訓練。這決議案定了之後，大本黨總參議代行大元帥職權的譚漢民同志立即接電，譚超英朱雲之兩同志下了實行的決心，再由兄弟到汕頭見蔣將各位同志報告一切，大家都以為這決議案，無論如何，要變力使之完全實現。所以六月五日以後，便開始攻取楊劉，六月十二日，楊劉打倒，我們便着手於國民政府之組織，大家有過極重要的商量，就是議決採用蔣氏制。這個意思，本來不自此時才有的，自去年一月二十六日總理入協和病院以後，在北京開過一次政治委員會會議，大家的意見都是主張在

總理逝世以後，實行委任制，和在那裏政治委員會的意思都是一樣。因為總理在時，在本黨有這個總理，同時在本黨有這個元首，總理逝世以後，實在再無人可繼。而且在本黨憲章第四章上，也清清楚楚地寫明是：『本黨以創行三民主義五權憲法之預先行為總理』，並不是說本黨設總理一人。當第一次代表大會時，本黨總章草案，原設有第四章那一章的，因為總理決心改組本黨的意思，實在要把本黨的重任交付給全體黨員。那大會各代表都請求總理加入第四章，就是關於總理的那一章。因為總理是有很長久之歷史的，中國的革命事業且開始以至成熟，都是由他一人之領導。故本黨願意始終以總理為唯一之領袖。總理逝世之後，本黨不復有總理了，推之以當治國的理論，則國家亦不復有元首了。而且說現在世界來說，也推委員會為比較好的。總理若在，大家都願意聽他的獨裁，總理不在之後，實無人能夠來繼他的，則委員會實為適應時勢的要求。可是決議以後，為什麼許久還不實行呢？就是因為其時楊劉還盤據廣東，如果開改選的計，他們一定有人委負，豈不是又把我們黨改選的計畫畫破弄壞，故此直到六月中，而楊劉去後，才提出實行委員會制這個問題。我們正想趁這個時機，從事種種建設，不幸於六月廿三日又有沙基慘案發生，那天我們的民衆正是一個遊行，是響應五卅上海慘案，及漢口九江各地總會的遊行，實在毫無戒備的。現在我們有些黨人說我們事先開槍，但試想我們如果有絲毫的惡意，豈不至於將遊行軍民都殺，都弄成殘廢，凡是稍有軍事常識的都不會有這樣做法，故此我們提警之說，不待辯而自明了。是帝國主義者為何又向我們提警呢？我們真箇是定了帝國主義者向中國民衆的一種示威。我們打倒楊劉，不過旬日，便遇着這樣的帝國主義的示威，真是『最危險的時候』了，我們那時是使隨着軍艦的，就是失敗也不計及的，所以七月一日，國民政府便宣告成

做了幾件大事。一是把國民政府的委員會組織靈活。二是把軍事委員會組織靈活，把各種地方軍的名目通通改錯，一律收爲國民革命軍。因爲總理遺囑上說一句便是：「全收爲國民革命軍」，所以就用國民革命軍四個字做軍隊的名稱，我們做統一軍政計劃，做統一財政的計劃。至於民衆方面，我們努力幫助香港罷工的工人，共同對待帝國主義，作一個極大的反抗。這些都是七月一日以後我們所做的。可是我們一面努力，敵人却是一面給我們設了很多的障礙。香港政府對於國民政府更出盡許多方法去破壞。他們以爲國民政府一倒，罷工就不能停止。同時聯共軍將也往反對軍事統一的進行。如魏邦平、梁鴻楷等，就利用十萬非排客軍的口號，以策反行動。本來在五月杪六月初的時候，蔣介石同志已經兵出汕頭經龍溪港以進至山波，許汝爲當時佔在汕頭，魏邦平去見他，張國楨帶楊坤如也去見他，商量兩個條件：（一）由張國楨帶聯共軍魏等，一致擁戴蔣同志。（二）由張國楨帶聯共軍魏洪兆麟林虎等，一致擁戴蔣同志。當時蔣同志以爲他們真正擁護他，便接受了他們的要示，叫魏國回到廣州幫助粵軍攻打楊劉，楊劉既倒，又派英雄領全旅援楊坤如到惠州。當時守惠州的鄒鳳翔，本來已經派人到天安營勸楊，指同志防範石師與楊坤如同志惠州，實是還不能相信楊坤如的，所以特叫英雄監視着他。誰知英雄竟誘楊到惠州後，便調他回全旅開回石龍。然後自己回到廣州見蔣同志，許同志問他爲什麼不在惠州，他竟說總司令相信楊遂成，許同志不信他，許同志也沒奈何他。實則英雄與楊，早已已約定了。至於他們所以說排非客軍，因爲當時蔣介石認組安朱猛之義有勞力而增命同意不是廣東人，故此做出此等口氣來，來排非客。其實此等口氣還是假的。他們實因爲最恨往日被割地盤，新收稅用這等勢力。如今是國民政府和軍事委員會將實行軍事統一，財政統一，他們聯兵

將蔣的運命，就擊完了。所以他們就決定非推翻國民政府
和軍事委員會不可，排斥客軍，便是一種推倒的方法。因
爲如此，便勾結主客之兵，實行排客。此外更和一切客軍
爲更互相勾結，來共同作亂。因爲國民政府以維護國家幸
，以實行民權統一，此換客官污吏又最是不利的。兄他當
時會說過：『和軍民政不能統一，固然患廣東之禍，但
客官污吏仍那些客官污吏存在，則民政統一，不過給他們一個
敲詐的更好機會』。他們聽了這些消息，更不得不着急起
來。我們一方面決心努力實行本黨各報議決案，他們一方
面聯兵復將客官污吏，便和帝國主義者互相勾結，來實行
破壞。當八月初間我們已發有報告，說文華筆一班人，已
經決議調發復將客兵分注清鄉三天地。但因爲沒有惡嫌，
只能加以防範。廖同志曾說我們天天和民客接近，如何防
範得許多，正有聽他來便了。及至八月十九日晚上，政治
委員會會議散後，廖先生勸兄說：『你現在仍是照常一
人出入，未免太疏忽了，要幾名衛士才好』。兄弟說：『我
是一個黨員，此次才到中央執行委員會附屬國民政府委員會
，就帶衛隊出入，是不好看到的。而且你也沒有衛士』。他
說：『我這副手已預備了三個人了』。他並且要說就一聽
兩人要用手機關槍給我們，用手槍姓蔣是常聽見的。若
是用手機關槍，却難殺的他』。不料到第二天八月二十日
早上，廖同志到中央執行委員會會議，果然就有六七個凶
徒亂打他。兇徒亂亂，給廖同志的衛士打傷，當場捉獲
，打他身上搜着手槍及槍匣多種，這些案才找出他頭緒。
責得這枝手槍，實是宋卓文常用的，用件子的子彈，果然是
手機關子彈。處案的全部，將來結束時當有更詳細的報告
，現在不過說個大略。在廖案發生的當日，中央執行委員
會國民政府委員會，軍事委員會，開過一個聯席會議。指
定行政爲王蔭桐蔣介石三人組織特別委員會，對政治軍
事案有全權辦理。當日晚上，我們三人正在廣東總司令部

總司令部辦公室，商量應付特務局方法，梁鴻楷在室外直對吳鐵城同志說：「現在政府派計將江一班人組織特別委員會，是最不當的。趙超吾和陳之亮完全因為主張共產。朱東文如果是因為反對而打死他和他的，怕什麼不敢承認。承認出來，看看有沒有人在替他幫忙。請你告訴特別委員會各位，此事真是極一惡好」。吳鐵城當時聽到這話十分驚訝，不久就來見我們，把這事照直報告。我們由此知道此案關係甚大，不止是文華堂一班人的事。而二十二十一等日接待報告，文華堂一班人的胡毅生等，連日晚上趕到平家真會會議，旋經方出。二十三日李福林軍長晚來見胡同志，說現有一事不能不來報告。因為胡毅生告訴我現在黨軍已出粵，鐵路關向河南，是竟來打福軍的，你們須準備才好。同時並有一個罪人到來，儘可以作證。說八月初間，曾在文華堂裏看一個鬼耳粗耳粗身朱東文和林直勉坐在一處，口口聲聲說非殺死他不可。當時以為他們是隨口亂說的，不料他們真做出來。我們得這幾種報告，知道事已緊急，便即於二十間日晚上，下令捕去文華堂胡毅生林直勉一班人。當拿到林直勉後，由檢察委員問他，他總不說，我們因他是一個老黨員，十一月十六日曾處總理出獄，不能從寬看待他。有一日檢察委員親到他屋裡問他說話，一個人做事，要敢作敢當，你既做了，何必不說。他才說在檢察委員會問我。我是不說的。如今既然到房中來問我，我就說出來。他還說自寫了十幾張的供詞，如今還存在陳慶審判委員會。供詞中直說推倒廖同志是他向來的主張，但謀殺一事，却沒有知道。他絕想不到，要推倒廖同志的結果就是竟殺趙超吾。因為廖同志是負責責任的人，竟有人攻擊他，他愈是要好的，受人攻擊就即行引退的。所以用空氣來推倒他。是廖同志這種人，想用空氣來推倒他是沒用的，其結果非把他殺死不止。供詞中還有一段話是說當他參與推倒廖同志的時候，有一個人說道是一定成功的。

香港方面，可以有二百萬元的幫助。林直勉聽見這話，還覺得不安，以後就託病不再管這事。這還是林直勉尚有良心。香港二百萬元這句話，實和當日拿的胡燏棻的銀票是一樣的。燏棻供出他當初本不敢參與這事。後來胡燏棻說有港有二百萬元幫助，他才決心參與的。可見此事是後經實了的。至於胡燏棻被殺並到不遠湘時，他對吳士龍說，殺生現在胡漢民同志墓中，兵士受騙，立即到胡漢民同志墓去，舉手祭奠胡漢民同志。而胡燏棻和吳龍繞過了。胡漢民同志知道有此意外之變，非常痛心。因為林直勉和胡燏棻都是何來總他之助。不料如今有此舉。至於外國對於胡漢民同志種種謠言，如今已證明都是假傳。以上所述，是二十五日捕拿文奎奎一班人和事，所可惜的，只拿者林直勉。其餘胡燏棻林炳鐵劉邦平諸人都拿不着，我們於二十五日，還又拿了張國楨梁鴻楷楊鼎梁士鋒一夥作惡的軍官，並解放了他們在著的軍隊。梁鴻楷楊鼎的罪狀，上面已經說過，梁士鋒結號梁土匪，和楊鼎龍是一起的。這幾個人拿了之後，張國楨帶來兄胡同志，說他對於此事，早已隱待。於是期胡燏棻邦平梁鴻楷楊鼎梁士鋒等在他家商議，如何推倒胡漢民同志，並連計同志也兼推倒。當時他勸他們不可推倒胡同志，以致失了主腦等語。張許同志以為張國楨現這樣說還不是以謀的，但蔣介石同志即以爲張國楨現起國楨軍。第五師師長，既然在兩星期前知道此事，如果早來報告，何不至鬧出如此大禍。於今日來報告，而是明知梁燏諸人被拿，故意如此說。而且既然他家會議，如何不算謀殺。這等人何不拿，那裏還有國法。於是便把張國楨拿了。兄弟對於彼此點與同志同意。以上所述，是兩拿一班在縣軍官和事。梁鴻楷拿被之後，兄弟等隨同本軍長蔣深甫赴江門，對梁鴻楷所派去爲處置。兄弟等辦理此事，頗受外間一班人的攻擊。究竟辦理得當與否，還要看大會的評判。不過也該要大會明白。

議一議以至陳接受總理遺囑并努力以履行之。」是爲此次大會之開幕第一聲。此案通過之後，升於翌日在觀音山舉行建國大業接受遺囑紀念碑奠禮禮，以表示態度之嚴重，並垂紀念于永久焉。

乙，完全接受第一次大會所定之政綱。第一次大會所定最低限度之政綱，爲總理孫權主席翁同龢等之重要方針。兩年以來，以袁氏之惡劣，迄未實行其百分之二。雖幸賴同志繼續，已將原定之進步環境漸修，而另開一光明之局，然仍衡世界與中國之大勢，第一次大會之政綱，實有繼續履行之必要，而不必再爭手更張。故古不棄遺，對於總現在第一次大會手定最低限度之政綱，仍完全接受，今後所努力者惟在尋求以如何方法圖此政綱之實現而已。

丙，總黨之會也。第一次大會所定之黨章，兩年以來，從事試驗，覺其間尚無甚阻碍。故此次大會所修正者，不過四點。其一，即爲第廿四條關於總理一章之保留。此章以總理現經逝世，本無存任之必要，惟爲紀念起見，特爲保留。併于四章之末加以附註，說明「總理已於十四年三月十一日逝世，十五年一月四日第二次全國代表大會決議接受總理遺囑特保留此章以爲紀念」。此章之方式則于各黨部應掛總理遺像，凡開會時必須互頌總理遺像，及每星期舉行紀念週一次。其二，即爲中央黨部常務委員會之設立。前者中央黨部設政務處，有委員三人主持事務，然人數過少，負責實難，致往日黨部開會，出席者寥寥如晨星。此於黨務進行，實爲一大障礙。此次大會行議於此，故特規定中央黨部設常務委員會，以中央執行委員互選一人組織之。此後凡凡事務，悉必由多人負責之故，而進行敏捷。其三，即爲各級黨部候補委員出席各該級委員會議權取消之變更。前者候補委員，止可出席教育而無表決之權，故多徒掛虛名，於黨無多大之貢獻。此次大會則改

定候補委員如過委員缺席時得依本通辦取得臨時表決權。惟取得臨時表決權之候補委員，不得超過出席委員人數三分之一，以爲限額。查定候補委員，亦得根據本條章程，以取得一部份表決權，使亦能分負黨中工作之部份之責任。此項此條文之宗旨更顯明矣。其四，則爲中央黨部特派員之規定。兩年以來，由黨務進行上所發見之缺點，最大者爲中央與各級黨部之聯絡不良。此次大會規定中央黨部可派臨時委員分駐各地，各中央委員亦得出席於各地之各級黨部以指揮其進行。此法實行，甚足以擴大黨的勢力，嚴密黨之組織，而一發從前渙散離離之失也。

丁，宣言之發布，此次大會宣言，於政策綱領均仍秉承先總理之遺教，與第一次大會所定之方案，本無特殊之意見。惟宣言中之最有價值者，即爲對於民族主義之正當認識。先述世界之現狀，次述中國之現狀，次述本黨努力之經過，而殿之以結論，說明本黨已認識中國之民族解放之義，實與國際之民族解放運動同其長成。（一）即對外當打倒帝國主義，而聯合世界革命先進國，聯合世界上一切被壓迫之民族，并聯合世界主義本國內大多數被壓迫之民族。（二）即對內當打倒一切帝國主義之工具，若軍閥官僚，買辦階級及土豪，其必要之手段即在造成人民的軍隊，以造成黨權的政府，提倡黨國內新興之工業，與保障農工團體輔助其發展。至於黨宣之訓條則特別注意於革命化與團體化，互相親愛，互相扶助，互相致謝，以期革命勝利之指出與人民衆之期望。一言以蔽之，此次宣言，蓋爲吾黨之實行政綱之切實方法，而非一般政黨編造揚厲之空洞文章也。

戊，紀律問題之解決。吾黨今後最重要之任務為造成一
強固有力的革命黨。然欲達此目的，莫要於自先造成森嚴
的紀律。此次西工會與各地反動分子之破壞黨部，實均
為徒逞意氣不識大體之舉動，而正中帝國主義者及軍閥之

毒謀。本黨若任其猖獗，不加制裁，實足以搖動國區革命之基礎而予各地民衆解離並進而以不利。依此以推，國區革命之進展，實與各地民衆運動有密切的關係，均有適當之處置。其屬居心不良，挾本國國利而本黨者，則加以永遠開除黨籍之處分，其屬一時衝動受外利用而不自覺者，則先予以譴惡之警告，而希望其改過遷善，仍與吾人同走上革命之陣線。至於其詳細辦法，即報章早已發表，此處不再贅述。

其已。其他各組之決議案，以時間之限制，莫克詳述。舉其重要者，若政治報告決議案，則表示對國民政府滿意，而勉勵其繼續努力。若關於軍事決議案，則實行改良士兵生活與確定軍事上之工作，此確非軍事大計畫，而現在軍事上最重之要點。若財政決議案，則實行財政統一，改良幣制，改良稅制，確立預算，募集公債，收回海關，收買廢債決議案，則遵守經理道義，兼重革命公理，而消弭無謂之爭執。若教育決議案，則加辦職業科，補助各組週遊。若工人決議案，則確立勞動法規並工會與黨的關係。若農民運動決議案，則禁止高利貸，規定最低租額，取消土剝削農民之雜稅。若商民決議案，則推廣商民協會，引導一般商人加入國民革命。若青年運動決議案，則注意教育之革命化與青年化民，並平民學校之擴充。若海外黨務決議案，則補助遠處海外同志協會，與特別保護歸國華僑。若婦女運動決議案，則制男女平等之法律，並開放各職業界機關。若實行對外政策決議案，則繼續聯俄政策，與世界一切被壓迫民衆締結。若對北方時局宣傳決議案，則維持國民軍，反對日本出兵滿洲，反對恢復約法與曹錕偽憲，並促成國民會議。凡此種種決議案，均以本黨主義政綱爲根據，而期於最短時間促其實現者，吾黨同志，固人人有其應盡之一份責任也。

(三)海內外各黨部發展之概況

除各種決議案以外，有當附帶報告者，則為海內外各

地黨務發展之概況。據吾人此次接受各地黨部之報告，實抱無限之樂觀。在國民政府治下之區域，黨務之發展固有一日千里之勢。即各地黨部，以本黨勢力宣傳之故，已取得民衆之相當之了解與信仰。故黨員人數驟增，至五十萬。去年以總選理之故，各地民衆參加迫促，會者人山人海。尤爲本黨動員深入民衆心坎之絕大機會，至五卅慘案發生以後，帝國主義者之聲援面目，已完全現露。軍閥甘受帝國主義者之指揮以壓迫民衆之暴行，大爲民衆所認識與仇恨。凡此事件，均足以迫使本黨之宣傳，多一事軍事之確證。而民衆對於本黨亦自然發生熱烈的傾向。吾人敢信今後之帝國主義者與軍閥，雖極力壓迫本黨，然本黨必不因此種壓迫而退步，必且因此種壓迫而更促進革命時機之成熟可以斷言。凡我同志，倘能一致在本黨主義之下，努力奮鬥，則三民主義之實現，必不在遠矣。

(四)今後應注意之點

本黨主義既已漸入民衆心坎，則本黨今後之工作更將重要而繁多，此不待表現民衆要求之急切，同時亦表現現帝國主義與軍閥之未路已近。故本黨今後第一要務，即須擴大其組織與宣傳，使民衆了解本黨之主義與政策，俾爲謀民衆之福利與安寧。則黨員人數自必增加，而革命勢力亦必日之堅固而穩厚。第二，應注意於全國的發展，以求本黨勢力普及於全國。因此則組織的宏大組織實爲最要，蓋黨報爲宣傳中最有力最能普遍之工具，如內地交通往還不便，則精製報之力可起革命思潮，可自動的爲本黨而目的。第三，應注意於農工運動，本黨既係以全民黨爲宗旨的，則決不能不以智識階級從黨革命爲己足。中國的農民與工人占全國人口之最大多數，其所受之痛苦亦最深切，故農工運動亦尤爲重要，而商人亦不可忽略，或曰商人，不是受農工運動大錯誤。商人中除少數買辦階級及奸商外，亦是受壓迫階級，故此後亦不可不注意。第四，應注意於商行紀

是失敗亡命的時候。無論是怎麼被賣賊，這人非笑談焉，他也是抱定三民主義而革命，他總沒有一點動搖。至于正在奮鬥的時候，無論敵人的唾罵是怎麼惡毒，像從前所說的役在一個小砲台之中，被砲濺光，陸榮廷那些滇兵包圍了，一共包圍了七晝夜，糧食不通，兵食斷絕，他還是指揮黨員，努力殺賊，終久還是殺出了一條生路。像最近白鶴潭之役，在一隻小又破爛的兵船之中，帶領何明的報吳，在水陸與三三兩攻夾攻，一共殺了五十八人。但是他到後來知道外邊的希望，完全斷絕了，才退出廣州。但是他總不屈服，而且他一生和武力奮鬥，向來是不服屈，始終抱定三民主義而努力。中山先生的這種富貴不能淫，貧賤不能移，威武不能屈，始終不斷的抱定三民主義而奮鬥的革命努力，用我們中國的古語來說，才真是「行不滅」。這「行不滅」的努力，就是中山先生一生實行革命的生涯。

總而言之：中山先生一生的生活，是爲革命而努力。他一生努力的情況，可以說以「學不厭，教不倦，行不遠。」這三句來概括，教不倦，行不遠。三句話，就可以完全表示中山先生的生活。我們就這三句話的德性講，「學不厭」就是智，「教不倦，行不遠」就是仁。中山先生「能夠有一學不厭，教不倦，行不遠」的努力，就是兼備了仁和智的兩種德性，也在革命家有仁且智的兩德性，就是我們革命界的大好人。我們今日在先生的周年紀念日，來紀念革命界的大好人，自然是要祖述他一生的事業，尤其是要效法他一生的努力，以繼承他一生未竟的志願，而達到國民革命的偉大目的。那才算是不枉做了這周年紀念。

孫中山先生逝世後之第一週年 賈昌

中山先生一生致力國民革命，其所處之政治社會的環境。

但民國沒有成立以前，國內的大多數民衆，不但沒有國家思想，並且羸弱無能，愚魯不堪。其餘一幫紳士官僚，都是受兩清政府的毒養，只知道尊於大清帝國，歌功頌德，以圖個人的升官發財，至於中國的國家是甚麼情況，卻自己沒有甚麼關係。就完全置之度外了。國外的帝國主義者，挑其弱片案與美和開塞爾電報之變故，對於中國政潮事變與經濟方面，施以種種不平等的條約之束縛，令全國政府與人民沒有一點自由翻身之餘地。在那種環境之下，中山先生以「研究學術之科學者」手無寸鐵，足無立錫，乃獨創造三民主義，發起中國革命。此用言倡王張。固然是歐中國與歐人民之所必需。但欲在事實上打破那樣黑暗的環境，以實行其在東亞號天荒的主張，是極艱難，真是有甚於緣木求魚。因此說見者流，不說他是發瘋，就說他是做夢。到民國成立了以後，各帝國主義者因要保持在中國優越的特殊地位，不願三民主義實現於全中國，故一方面運用其政治與經濟勢力，以產生無數敵對的軍閥。像從前就有袁世凱稱帝，張勳復辟，要根本推翻民衆。最近就有段祺瑞殺法寶圖，吳佩孚武力叛亂，從各方面來破壞民國。更在他一方面直接間接施其武力與經濟力的干涉，不計中山先生有一分革命的工作，有一點革命的基礎。中山先生處在這樣重大的壓迫力，軍閥與帝國主義者之壓迫之下，想要打倒他們的壓迫，以求實現自己的主義，而達到救國救民的目的，也就是逐漸更難了。然而中山先生總是抱定他的三民主義，用革命的方法，一生不斷的向前努力，始而從事主義的宣傳，繼而從事軍事的奮鬥，屢仆屢起，百折不迴。在辛亥年直捷的發動了黃花崗革命，間接的發動了武昌起義，以推翻兩清帝國政府，以造成中華民國。在民國十四年以來，更是直接間接的指揮民衆，以推翻其世凱洪憲皇帝，張勳的復辟運動，以打倒段祺瑞。

到法賣國，轉現與風雨的武力搶劫。他在那些慘劇的歷程中，無論是受過若何犧牲困苦，若何險阻艱難，總是勇往向前，始終爲民國而奮鬥。他的三民主義、在建設一方面雖然未能以身完全實現於全國，但是民國的基礎，終賴之以不致於搖動。縱令民國最大的敵人，像孫則明帝國主義者，終不能完全還其升官發財，稱帝稱王與剝削利權等計劃中國之私圖。故軍閥同三民主義者，沒有一個不口說中山先生爲他們的眼中釘，想盡種種方法撲滅之而後快。另，復用無數惡形容詞，加之於中山先生以遂其誹謗之反宣傳，在他們心理和表現出來的言詞，都以爲要中山先生一死，中國國民黨就覆亡，中國的革命就馬上要鉅滅。他們實際上可以恢復其被迫迫中國民衆和剝削中國民衆的利益。像幾十年前的暗無天日，任意獨行一樣。不幸而中山先生在民國十四年三月十二日，真是一病不起，意志以至於死，竟是他生前的一個相相了，延到今日整整有一週年的光陰了，究竟他們一週以爲，我們全國革命的革命助是怎麼錢呢？國民黨的情況是怎麼呢？中山先生的革命精神是否尚留存於人間呢？那些軍閥和帝國主義者的情況又是怎麼呢？我們在中山先生逝世後的第一週紀念日，可留下下述的情形，大略的回想一回想：

我們都知道北京中國歷來專制帝王之都，如鎌官腐爛垢納污之所，爲全國一最守舊的反革命社會，向來對於新的革命運動，固然是不容易進行，就是新的革命思想，也不容易宣傳，尤其是經過了袁世凱在民國元年廢舊的報載國民黨在北京的宣傳革命運動，可說是完全不能進行。如果我們想想在中山先生逝世後的這近百年之，在北京革命的運動，像正當中山先生逝世的時候，三民主義之宣傳，以後更同傳於上海九江青島漢口廣州幾處慘殺反袁反日帝國主義運動。反革命戰爭以來的國民大會，不

近附俄國與反英日帝國主義的運動。其大多數的民衆，以嚴厲的氣象，威武的精神，普遍的宣傳、以喚民衆，以底蘊反革命者。那一次運動，不是國民黨打先鋒呢？那一次運動，不是國民黨做指揮呢？即處於這種軍閥政府壓迫之下，的中國國民黨，在這一年中，愛國青年黨員之增加，已達到三千人以上，便可知在北京的革命運動，與中國國民黨的基礎，是否因中山先生逝世而即行銳減和搖動了。然而而推之各省，向來中國風氣，不開通的地方，莫過於熱河綏遠，察哈爾那些邊界地方，從來沒有發生過公開革命運動的，但是在這一年中，那些特別區域內的大城小市，莫不有中國國民黨的組織，黨員的公開活動，張家口包頭等處並成立了報館，在言論上宣傳三民主義。鼓吹革命運動，我們就可以想到中國國民黨在那些邊界地方的活動，究竟是什麼樣子。至於交通便暢的省分，像河南山東江蘇浙江湖南湖北，那些省分，城市中工人團體之規模的組織，鄉村而農協會之武裝的發展，有知識階級之團體加入中國國民黨，和努力宣傳三民主義，以及舉行反帝國主義和反軍閥之繼續革命示威運動，在這一年中，那一省不是氣象運動，蒸蒸日上，時時有反革命者以深刻嚴厲的打擊。

更進而推之於革命的策源地，像廣東省，中國國民黨的革命工作，和革命成績，又是怎麼樣呢？廣東省在五十年來，本是國民黨的革命策源地，是真正正氣的能夠表現於中國，和全世界，本是有賴於廣東省。但因革命並未成功，弄到廣東各縣的土匪充兵和盜賊橫行，還有兵權的人大的就霸佔地位。小的也霸佔一兩縣，常常互相爭奪。其當亂景象，有甚於全國之各省。當中山先生北上的時候，反

去年七月一日起，經過進行了幾次的斷有結果的政治與經濟罷工，所有在沙面與香港之內，服勞於帝國主義者的機關之內的中國男女職工，都停止他們的工作，全體回國了。因爲那些帝國主義者之貪婪起見，日常生活，和營業交通等，都停頓了。向來都是完全依賴我們中國職工和工人，所以我們這次一舉而能工，他們在生活上，像糧食和日用品，就不能運進，境內機器東西，都不能運出。於是他們近來改頭換面，拋棄帝國主義者和紳士派的尊嚴，自己去做勞動的工作，就做了營業的工作，就做了營業的工作，就得不夠圓滿的家庭生活，弄到他們的日常家庭生活，至今還是不安。並且因爲他們食糧的來源，多半是依賴廣東。廣東既然和他們經濟絕交，當然就禁止一切食物的供給他們，他們雖然用盡了種種方法，向別的地方花錢採買，但是總沒有在廣東運到，所以他們在這幾個月內，常常有起義的危險。至於經濟一方面，因爲這次罷工，我們工人固然要受工價的損失，至少有了兩三千萬，但是帝國主義者的一切營業行爲，不是通用不罷，就是完全停止工作。沒有買賣，更受損失。估計他們損失的數目，至少總要大過我的四十萬。估計至今已有損失，總要過八九萬萬元。帝國主義的沙面與香港之內，由於我們這次罷工，受了這大的經濟損失，和日常生活不安，這就是帝國主義者的腹心之內去打，帝國主義者也是在帝國主義者的腹心之內，去實行中山先生反帝國主義的革命。我們都知道香港是帝國主義者經濟上侵略中國的大本營，從前是一個極其繁榮的商業，生意興隆之區，經過這次中國人的全體罷工，經濟的巨大損失，營業的

根本影響以後，現在就變了，現在就變了，生意興隆，很繁榮不起来的港島。全島的生意，已經倒閉了，總有四五萬以上，現在還沒有倒閉的，也是風聲鶴唳，勢將倒閉，在最近四五個月內，雖然還維持了倫敦政府三千多萬磅的經濟，可以維持一時。但在此水車，終歸於於大事。而且以香港白銀人民的商務之地，每月的消費，總在一百多萬磅以上，倫敦政府也決不能以如此巨量費用，來維持，入而久之，廣東的商務，可以完全接收香港的營業。香港的商務，一定是終歸於於完全倒閉，廣東能夠在經濟上打倒香港，就是打倒帝國主義侵略中國的大本營。打倒了香港的大本營，就是打倒帝國主義侵略中國的大本營，就可以昭示八十年以前影片戰爭的大國威。一週年內，我們對內對外的革命情況，既然是如此。至於全國反革命的軍閥和帝國主義者的情況，又是怎樣呢？在這一週年內，最反對革命的軍閥莫過於段祺瑞。他當中山先生在北京逝世的時候，就召集一個御用式的分權的全國反對的籌備會議，以及反對全國人民所要召集的國民會議。因爲貪圖權利，便勾結法國帝國主義者，私自解決佛郎案，以犧牲國家的利益，以損失國家的主權。當段祺瑞在年入關手可執的時候，段祺瑞在北京做他的狗，狐狸，虛張聲勢。凡關於國民和革命軍的國事情，他總是不願意自己一孤行。到去年秋季以來，全國一打倒了段祺瑞，他的情況又是怎樣呢？不但他自己一個人所說的一政府，現在全國沒人理他，變成了「無政府」，就是他個人的生命，當去年十月受國民大會裁決的時候，也要受其大的危險。其他軍閥，像張作霖，因爲他反對中山先生的革命，全國與論的攻擊，便受其力的討伐。郭的起義，段祺瑞沒有日帝國主義者的死助，去年就老早倒閉了。現在雖然還是苟延殘喘，但是實力已已，

決不能像去年上季一樣，耀武揚威的再通國來作惡，並且我們相信他，不久就要倒閉了。其次像吳佩孚，他雖然正在河南調動，軍事上暫時順利，但是他始而對張作霖的敵，馬上又通張作霖的敵，隱隱作交，既無主權又無人格。最近張作霖的敵，結湖北民衆的深仇，已經引起了四川湖南江蘇等省的攻擊，吳佩孚一定是歸於滅亡，而且是不久歸於滅亡。再其次的小軍閥，此刻正是正生混戰，或不能調和。就他們性質說，沒有那一個不是反對革命和壓迫民衆的。將來民衆的革命勢力一起，他們一定是兩敗俱傷，同歸於盡。至於各帝國主義者，因爲彼此在國際間政治軍事和經濟利益的衝突，以及全國革命勢力的牽制，決計不能一致的和竭盡力的到中國來反革命。就是像英國日本，用一部分的力量，到中國來勾結張作霖與佩孚，以行他們反革命的計劃。但是因爲張作霖與佩孚的勢力，日日在失敗，這也就是帝國主義者在中國的勢力，日日在失敗了。全國反革命的潮流，日日下降。因爲全國反革命的潮流日日下降，所以全國革命的潮流以爲更可以日日上升，並且已經在上升。我們就全國的情況，既然知道了軍閥和帝國主義的勢力，日日在失敗，反革命的潮流，日日下降，國民黨的勢力，日日在發展，革命的潮流，日日上升。就廣東的情況，又知道了國民黨只有一週年內的努力，對內便打倒了三反革命的軍閥，以得廣東全省的統一。對外就打倒了香港的帝國主義，以得政治經濟的獨立。我們就可以相信，廣東革命的基礎，和全國民衆的力量，努力革命，最多在三週年之內，一定可以打倒全中國的軍閥和帝國主義，以達到中國革命成功的大目的。至於我們研究國民黨的可以在廣東能夠在這樣短時間內，打倒了那樣多和那樣大的反革命勢力，就主力一方面說我們

自然知道是有像階級的國民革命軍，居中指揮一切的。自然是一個有訓練有組織的國民黨。但是關於具體的後，軍閥的補充，和其他種種革命方法的援助，這是一切士農工商民衆團體的大力量。譬如在帝國主義者的腹心之內去打倒帝國主義者，專用經濟絕交的方法，就是罷工工人團體的力量。在野外軍事作戰，關於軍隊中輜糧的輸送，革命軍不拉夫，不運糧，也就罷工工人團體的力量。關於臨時油鹽菜蔬的輸送，敵人情況的偵察，發方的偵查，保證就是農民團體的力量。關於軍隊的接濟，糧食的供給，就是民衆團體的力量。至在廣州市開十幾萬人的提督會，以歡迎國民革命軍進駐。在各城市鄉村，常常開國民黨的茶話會，以歡迎國民革命軍，以鼓勵軍人努力殺敵。以發揚軍人革命的精神，那更是一切民衆團體的力量。我們研究廣東現在何以有這些革命的力量，自自然知道是中山先生在一週年以前所播下的革命種子。國民黨在廣東和全國之所以能運用這些力量來革命的原因，就是由於有中山先生，三民主義的領導，所以能夠運用這些力量來革命的。所以在一週年之內，中山先生雖然逝世了，他的身體雖然離開了民衆，廣東和全國革命不能得他親身的領導。但我們國民黨在這一年來中山先生的三民主義，奉引中山先生的革命方法，這就是中山先生的精神。在這一年之內，這是時常活動於我們民衆之間，這是時常領導我們民衆革命。我們全國的革命一天不成功，中國的軍閥帝國主義者，一天不完全打倒，就是我們全國被壓迫的民衆，一天不能自由。國民革命的大目的，！求中國之自由平等！一天不成功。我們要全國被壓迫的民衆，都可得到解放。以達到國民革命的大目的，我們以後就要廣大廣東的革命基礎，在全中國繼續的努力，並且永遠的

努力，以實行中山先生的三民主義和革命方法。中山先生
的三民主義和革命方法，能夠在全中國永遠實行，這就是中
山先生的精神永遠不死，中山先生的精神永遠和我們民衆
長存。

帝國主義與軍閥的勢力之崩潰國民 革命的初期之成功

(爲孫中山先生逝世週年紀念作)

中國被帝國主義與軍閥的宰割，到現在已數十年了。
在此二層壓迫之下，中國的主權，喪失殆盡，名義上，雖
沒有瓜分，實際上，中國境內，沒有那一個地方，沒有外
人的勢力，沒有那一項主權，不在外人手裏，比滿地還
不如呢。中國人民的自由，完全爲軍閥，官僚，資本家，
士大夫及買辦階級所剝削，毫無生氣。孫中山先生爲謀中
國的獨立與人民的自由平等，奔走革命數十年，犧牲民衆
的聯合世界上以平等待我之民族，對內打倒一切軍閥對，
外打倒帝國主義。近年以來，全國人民已漸漸覺悟接受孫
中山先生的主義，共同努力於國民革命的工作，將向軍閥
與帝國主義作總攻擊，眼見快要成功了。不幸中山先生因
數十年奔走革命心力交瘁，竟於去年三月十二日逝世了！
全國國民失掉了這樣偉大的領袖，實在是空前未有的大損
失！中山先生逝世以後，我們的敵人——帝國主義與軍閥
以爲中山先生逝世了，國民革命的運動，就從此中斷了，
那帶着殘酷的言論，在國內國外的報紙，都可找得出來。
他們居心之險惡，可爲驚異！但是事實上，我不如他們
所料，這一年以來，國民運動不但沒有失掉了領袖而有
所停頓，反而加倍努力，一日千里，而帝國主義與軍閥的
勢力，日趨崩潰，幾至無以自存。這種意外的成績，實足
以慰中山先生在天之靈！現在轉瞬之間，又到中山先生逝

世週年忌日了。我們哀悼之餘，回憶這一年來帝國主義與
軍閥勢力的崩潰，及國民運動巨大的貢獻，實由於先生之靈
，發揚全國國民繼續努力，以求達到我們最後的目的。

一、帝國主義的勢力之崩潰

帝國主義的聯合戰線 帝國主義利用政治
軍事上的勢力，使世界的小民族，以圖最少數人自
私自利的慾望。有時聯合多國帝國主義共同行動，或一聯合戰線。
前者如美國之於印度，法國之於安南，日之於朝鮮，美
國之於菲律賓。後者如俄普與之瓜分波蘭，及維也納之
英法同盟，俄德與三帝同盟，德奧意三國同盟，俄法同盟，
英日同盟，及庚子八國聯軍攻中國，這都是帝國主義與
主權者的聯合。最近如巴黎會議之德分德與土及弱小民族
，希臘與俄國之德分中國，及去年羅加諾會議之科特羅
。帝國主義者欲維持他們的勢力，及壓迫弱小民族而大多
數無辜附從，爲此利己利己，所以不能不互相聯合起來
，以圖達到他們利己利己的慾望。他們現在對於中國的
壓迫，也是共同一致，百計千方，來阻中國軍閥，及一切
要勢力，使他們能得中國的民衆，進步的新勢力，遭受摧殘
，不克發展，這是隨時隨地，都可以看得出來。所以現在
世界上的形勢，是帝國主義與一切要勢力佔在一邊，反帝
國主義及一切要勢力的國民革命世界革命者佔在一邊
，已成絕對不兩立的勢力。

二、帝國主義者間之衝突 雖然帝國主義因爲一時的彼
此利害而聯合起來，以侵奪或對抗某民族，但一遇到
彼此間發生利害衝突時，他們的聯合戰線，就斷裂無餘，
或重新另發生新的戰爭或重新結合起來。我們要知道
帝國主義雖然要造成聯合戰線，或時時造成聯合戰線
，不過是一時的聯合，他們的利害衝突，無時可免，他們

聯合的戰線，不過一道紙障，只要我們不爲他們的虛聲所
嚇，必定可以攻破的。現在我們不必追述百餘年來，帝國
主義彼此間心懷角鬥的歷史，外交史，或外交史，或外交史，
只將最近的事實拿來看一看，就知道他們的衝突日益一日
，他們相殘的日子快到了。
自從大戰以後，德奧失敗，甘受五大國國的宰割。而
此五大國之中，美國佔了德國大部分殖民地，和土耳
其許多土地。法國自勝利後，也分得德國不少的殖民地
，大舉擴張軍備，並擴張波蘭，比利時，南斯拉夫，捷克
，希臘，及羅馬尼亞等國的軍事和財政，擴張歐洲許多
小國，以鞏固他的勢力。意大利自法西斯黨繼任以後，日
以侵佔意地。美國自大戰後，財政資本之充斥，爲世界第
一，世界的經濟權，幾完全操於美國之手。他向外發展的
雄心，不可遏抑。日本戰後，亦得了太平洋中德屬島嶼
，擁有強大的海軍軍備，對中國，對南洋羣島的侵略，日
益猛烈。各帝國主義者均極懷恨他國或弱小民族的慾望
，於是相見而衝突就起來了。自從戰後，帝國主義者在
巴黎會議時，發生不少衝突，法國爲復仇起見，杜絕德
國復興的機會，力圖擴張實力。先則欲結英美法三國同盟
，規定受德侵略時，請英美予以援助，後以美國上院否
決而未成，乃與比國，比國斯洛伐克先後訂立互盾同盟
。又令羅馬尼亞，捷克，南斯拉夫等國成立一小協約國，以
助德威。英國素來傾軋的外交政策，即便歐洲不發生德
無二的大國。真一發現時，英國則必援助第二強國與之
對抗，戰前德國爲歐洲第一強國繼而英國的新權，所以英
國援助法國，以助德威。戰後德已失敗，又助德以抗法。
當巴黎和會，英相路易喬治，曾患法法，但歸無效。惟
英始終抱抵抗法政策，後一九二三年雖有所謂和平協定

，然亦因英日反對未成，英法間裂痕，益形暴露。後來英
國從德國提出歐洲互保條約，或成維加許會議，訂立條
約七條，中有英國條件，如法比攻德，英可助德，德攻法
比，英可助法比，即英國抑制法國的政策。這條約去年十
二月一日在倫敦簽字後，德國即要求加入國際聯盟並作會
爲永久理事，而法國亦主張與德有密切關係的波蘭，西班牙
巴西，應得永久理事，以圖增強自己的聲勢。這個問題，
到現在還沒有解決。又如戰後英國想率領土耳其，利比亞
制土國，而法國則欲助土國以抗英。降洛希問題，法與西
班牙共同作戰征摩，英恐法得摩，又助摩洛哥，以禦法西
。又法屬敘利亞戰事，亦與英有關係，種種都是英法帝國
主義者互相衝突，不能協調的證據。

水進，英美日間的衝突，日美衝突，由來已久，世
所共知，自大戰以後，猶爲顯露。美國會因爲不滿意凡爾
賽條約，已引起英法的疑忌。又因爲一方面要通約與英日對
東方的侵略，一方面更想以他的豐富財力，強大的軍力，向
遠東進行。但恐日英日兩國兵力及同盟關係，必爲其阻礙
，故召集華盛頓會議，成立海軍限制協定，以限制英日海軍
。該規定主力艦的比額爲英美各四，日三，法意各一，七
五，但對於補助艦及飛機，沒有限制。因之美國一方攻擊
英國，一方又自已增加軍備，添造軍艦。英國亦增加艦隊
及飛機，法國亦添造補助艦，及飛機，日本亦將艦隊軍備
加一倍，意亦增加飛機多架，名義上各國限制主力艦
軍備，實際關於補助艦飛機，及陸軍各項軍備，則竭力增
加，競爭不已。英意日美，美意英日，日意英美，各不相
讓。英國的新政策，即爲對美日示威。美國去年海
軍大擴，亦即爲國目的而備。這是在準備上英美日互相衝
突的事實。又前年七月一日美國實行移民限制律，美日

其衝突最烈，有謂將來日美戰爭，或由此爆發，並非無據。又英日美之對於中國，其衝突亦不少。日本以鄰近中國，是足先聲，先後吞併朝鮮、琉球、台灣及滿洲一切權利，美國在南滿洲佔有香港，為經濟發展的大本營，亦有濃厚之勢力。美國擁有豐富的財源，想向中國發展，所以對於中國主張開放，使他自己可以滿足，以施經濟侵略的陰謀。去年關稅會議，美國外長推銷此種稅目，而美國，是欲利用時機，以增進美國在華的經濟勢力。美國東方商業部部長提議，曾於正月十六日在密爾斯新報發表一文，謂中國國民解放運動實有利於美國在華的商業。又謂中國增加關稅，以防止美國及日本貨物的侵入，實為發展中國實業所必需的條件，然美國及日本的貨物，即蒙損失。又謂中國對於某種貨物增加稅率以保護美國實業後，美國資本不惟不蒙損失，且中國須向美國購用大批機器及其他設備，美國可以大獲其利云。所以自香港罷工後，美貨銷路，美貨即乘機起而代之。由此可見日美與美國關於侵畧中國的權利衝突。又美國廣播新聞記者最近發表說，以現在在中國獲得最大利益的為日本，美國應盡努力恢復美國在華昔日在中國獲得的市場。因十三年日本輸入中國的貨物為百分之二十二，而美國輸入中國的貨物，為百分之二十三。到十四年，日本輸入中國的貨物，已超過美國的總額。又十三年美國在中國所設立之工廠數目為七所，而日本則多至四十所。最日本貨物，在中國市場之中，已遠勝美國於中國市場之外。所以英人有此言論。這是英日商業上的衝突。還有日本在中國則採擴張政策，以維持其利益，英國則扶植陳炯明及吳佩孚，以侵佔長江流域以南，這是英日在政治上侵畧中國的利害衝突。

以上所述，都是英美日各國主義間彼此衝突的事實，誰能否認的。

三帝國主義的勢力之崩潰，帝國主義彼此間的衝突，已如上述。這新衝突實足以為帝國主義聯合戰線的致命傷。此外，帝國主義國內階級階級的解放運動，勢力天天增漲，國外殖民地的民族運動，也天天擴大，尤為帝國主義即將崩潰的兩大原因。我們先說英國。英國為最惡毒最穩固的帝國主義的國家，有廣大的殖民地，堅固的實力。但自歐戰以後，經濟衰落，失業工人，當達二百餘萬，英政府無法維持。人口過剩，產業蕭條，英幣高漲，出口減少，政府前途，危險特甚，隨時有傾覆之虞。近年南美各地市場，受美國競爭影響，漸次低落，新輸入印度的棉布，現在因印人用本國材料，自行製造，不能暢銷。自五世慘案及沙基慘案發生後，全國抵制英貨而香港罷工，香港交通阻斷，以英商經營的香港無人過問，成為荒涼之區。半年以來，香港英國的損失約在四千萬磅，合華幣四萬萬元以上。若再支持半年，則英國遠東商業的鉅路，完全斷絕，而英帝國主義的覆亡也就不遠了。當香港罷工後，英國在華商人請英政府出兵，而英政府因礙於工人罷工，外報不能取勝，終不敢越雷池一步。英國之殖民地如土耳其已將英國勢力完全推翻。印度埃及及波斯的反英的民族運動，亦使英國不安。更時法國，自戰後，元氣大傷，恢復不易，財政困難，法郎跌價，生活日高，政局不安，爭鬥日烈，擁有五十萬陸軍，國民負擔太重，外而遠征摩洛哥，應為里夫山族所敗，應迫敘利亞，而敘利亞獨立。安南及其所屬各殖民地，均時有反抗的舉動。意、日、英、外患，雖使法國處於窮途，再說美國情形，雖然金融勢力強大，但被地壓迫的民族如墨西哥、古巴、菲律賓及美洲的黑種人民反抗美國主義，異常兇猛。至於日本亦因朝鮮台灣之獨立運動，常存恐懼之心。而國內則無產階級反對政府與資本家的勢力，亦日益增漲。

罷工戰爭時有所聞。此外意德兩國，亦真不同此情形。總之現在世界上的被壓迫的民族無不奮起，均已漸次覺悟，羣起反對帝國主義，勢力大增。帝國主義，手忙脚亂，無法維持。若全世界被壓迫人民，能繼續努力，則帝國主義的滅亡行將不遠了。中國去年的反帝國主義運動，這實不利於帝國主義。所以他們直接間接均竭力阻撓，或製造謠言中傷。如謂因國民政府，為中國爭自由平等，領導中國國民反對帝國主義，為國民的動機，是他們的眼中釘，所以他們利用種種謠言，如謂國民政府，不顧國民，以軍械軍費，以圖自衛國民政府。又因國民軍不和和他們勾結，危殆之切。所以他們全力扶植陳作霖、吳佩孚，以侵佔長江流域，其最卑劣的舉止，對於國民黨國民政府國民軍任意誣陷，欲以轉移全國國民對國民黨國民政府國民軍的憤慨。但是此種謠言，終不能成功，反益形帝國主義者必窮日蹙，張作霖慘死而已。

一、軍閥的勢力之崩潰

中國軍閥的形成，始於袁世凱。袁世凱掌軍之後，小站練兵，為北洋系軍閥的首領。自民二年至五年，為北洋系軍閥全盛時代。自袁氏死後，分為龍（王士珍）虎（段祺瑞）獅（馮國璋）三派。互相傾軋，為害甚烈。後又有直系、奉系、皖系、閥系、軍系，又各自分裂，其派系紛爭，成為定律。軍閥勢力愈見，對於國民的壓迫亦愈強，壓迫愈強，國民的反抗力亦愈大，軍閥的覆滅亦愈速。當袁氏衰微的時候，天下割目，無人肯與其鋒。卒以手夫所搗，無病而死。又如段祺瑞當權的時候，他的威風，也不亞於袁氏，為全國人民所痛恨，而吳佩孚得起而乘之。吳佩孚當他雄據長江的時候，目空一切，不可一世，對於人民力壓壓抑，然不久即被推翻。張作霖

的勢力，在中國軍閥之中為最大，維持的時間亦最久，自他得勢以來，到現在十餘年丁。去年張作霖起兵，連奉系勢力於東南，郭松齡繼繼，後來奉系勢力於西北，並非假借日人兵力，奉系必難維持。吳佩孚去年乘時局變亂，坐鎮武漢，以武漢為根據地，佔領交通之利，以恢復以前勢力。據目下時局，吳佩孚之勢力，強大而為國人所注意者，不外張作霖、吳佩孚、孫傳芳三人。而這三人之中，各人名義上，雖擁有很多的兵力，實際上各人自己均已顯露敗亡的徵象。張作霖，世人都說他是老狐狸，然他的部下新舊兩派的爭鬥，在直奉戰爭以後，即不可掩飾。自和公使辭職後，才使兩派派系，文武派互相競爭，互相排擠，不無調和，最近如王永江的辭職，張作霖的請和，都是奉系軍閥內江所表現的結果。我們可以斷言，最短時間內，張作霖，非下台不可，以他的最後殘餘作相，將不易制眼了。奉系軍閥的傾覆，將不久了。至於吳佩孚呢？他本來就是一個傀儡，他已沒有精銳的軍閥，作他的膀臂。這次他亂吹亂打，不過藉着他人的勢力，以爲自己爭地盤。而張作霖本來是他的心腹，但是自吳未失敗以前，即已發生衝突。失敗以後，張作霖加以白眼，張作霖所屬的。吳佩孚憤憤，因之百般刁難，到漢以後，時常對張作霖。而稍有連連，吳則實有加，（二月二十七日上海申報）。相傳張作霖與吳佩孚，並非無因。吳佩孚如此對張作霖，則各人的部下，各不相能，將來時機一到，爭戰即起，亦不虛也。至於孫傳芳，則更難，王文韶，田維勤，陳文炯之投吳，不過因投吳的結果，可以升官做官，省長，和甚麼便而已。這類的軍閥，就如同娼妓一樣，只要那邊於他們有利，他們就向那邊跑，一到他們做了娼妓的長，就不認得老吳，恐怕還向老吳開刀呢。張作霖就是很好的前例。所以吳佩孚現在所號召的勢力，完全是一個紙老虎。

國民新報

孫中山先生逝世週年紀念特刊

五六

國家主義的領袖們！你們的主義，是國家主義。你們的口號，是內除國賊外抗強權。你們的政策，是門羅式的政策。你們的手段，是暗殺來作的愛國事業，是徵收貴族帝國主義的政治資本家。在這些年來，你們的愛國事業，實在最重於帝國主義的救國的難受。在這些地方，也不暇同你們訴說你們的黑暗歷史。我欲就此次在法被逐的遠因近果，來問你們說一說。請你們自己想一想：你們國家主義者作的事，不說你們愛國不愛國，單問你們是否還帶有半分中國人的氣？自五卅滬案發生起，無拘在任何地方居住的中國人，都一致發起高報反帝國主義的旗幟。獨有用法你們國家主義者，倒借此以作煽惑團結國賊的見禮！

你們以極少數的幾個人，硬想制勝我們大數的工、商、學，去附和你們的馬屁勾當。旅法的華人——尤其是旅法的華工，不待你們開口，更早窺透你們陰謀鬼蜮的機關。凡是你們的草雞蠢動，華工一概不參與。因此你們也就像飛土切骨，在六月十四日的大會前，你們國家主義者，公然到法庭告，告我們差在巴黎早已查獲匪徒，促使法政府武力解散我們的非法大會，並且當時逮捕我們大會招待員，王德林，宋力爭三小時之久方才放出。六月二十一日我去使館找陳嘉謨作點愛國的事情，你們的二等領何魯之張子注又去使館和法政府密談，並且你們套用李宗用的手法，特派四個執照工人名字的偵探，帶着法人武裝警士，到處抓拿中國人。沿巴賽的城壕城外，從六月二十四日起，法國武警和你的偵探，一天到晚的捕我們工人。國家主義的先生們，拿我個人和勒瓦山魏子成三個人來說，我在法國居留的名字是「Léon Ugeux」，你們告我的是「Léon Ugeux」。但是我國親子你們不派人指證，法國武裝一生到老也找不着我們的。但是我親子

世界大戰底責任問題(續)

一九二六，三，九，飾仁擬於京城工作處

風在路上新英雄的回來來了，只有制瓦山走到比法交界的 Orléans 地方，被比國的武裝扣留住了。的大獄裏。我在此京動身時，曾懇請駐比公使王京沂極力嚴重交涉釋放。到去年十二月二十七日的比國通信，說是劉君還沒有放出。你們不過把我們工人應用的物件，辦法官廳保護着，增加一小時實工工作罷。

國家主義的首領們呵！你們天天高談國家主義，你們打起外抗強權內除國賊的號幟。你們真正的敵人，原來不是壓迫中國人的英、美、日、法。却是現在以平等待我的民族和我們無產階級的工農羣衆。不住我們在巴黎舉行極示威運動，曾公觸犯了你們國家主義的大不韙呵！——國家主義的首領們，你們還預想一想你們口血未乾的決議案，你們不是說『決對保護勞工嗎？你們保護勞工的事實，原來却是如此呵！——國家主義的首領奇珍瑣瑣——你們把我們工人捉弄到匱乏的地步，你們是法律縱容者，我們小工人是不敢向你們要求賠償損失的。我，今天給你們寫這一封信，是要請國內的父老和社會的人們，評一評你們國家主義者的人格罷了。果實話，我也不願向你們多說了。並請你們的安好。

一九二六，三，九，佛仁擬於京竣工作罷。

世界大戰底責任問題（續） 陳石字

一九〇八年十二月二十五，塞國駐德公使將他和伊氏談話的結果，報告回國。他說：『伊氏大驚異向帝國，說它本不可算，俄國和列強都不應相信它。他希冀不久便要與奧匈有一場血戰。』這可以表明伊氏底態度。凡是反對奧匈的勢力，也是因為想勾結法國，共作反奧運動。同年伊氏被派為駐法大使，也是因為想勾結法國，共作反奧運動。他在法國的成績，上面已經說過，現在再說法國態度。一九二

陳石年

結果，
和列強，
表明伊
○九年
決鬥不
奧運動
九一二

給國家主義者首領們的一封信

的所有物，毫無餘利給勞動階級去享譽。所以我們革命途中，一方面要政治的改造，同時對於文化事業也要誠實的改造，即吾輩的建設。我們不相信在武人政掌下面苟求生存是誠實的教育。教育爲口頭的面面語。我們認爲社會改造未成功以前，所謂文化這樣東西，只是貴族閒暇的裝飾品。我們所要求的技術，科學，文學等文化的外表要勞動文化的發揚。的幾含之，就是要把勞動文化來替代資產階級的文化，本來勞動文化是從俄國共產黨革命的「一種產物。原文就是 *one product*」意思是說「無產階級的文化」。因爲科學一定要完全根據於純粹的唯物論。資產階級並非仰於唯心唯物之間，所以社會科學始終不能穩固，而其所謂資產階級的文化，不久也要跟着資本主義共同消滅。那時所創造出來的文化才是美滿的文化，才能以全人類目的的文化爲文化。

王德仁

我是去年在巴黎作愛國運動，被放逐華人中的漢奸告發和捕捉回來的。我自去年七月十三號被捕進法至今，已經過去了六個多月的日子。我在路上的信託駐各該國使館補助力量，我幾幾勉強的回對中國來。自我到中國的那一天起。我的時間簡直不夠支配。好了，我現在時間可以預支配了，我總覺得對你們也應該詳細的談一談。古語說的好，「英雄不吃飯吧餓。」我雄不吃飯吧餓。我固是鐵齒鋼牙的華工。我對於國人要求解放雙重壓迫的志向決定，我敢自信和我斷定的說：比那那貴國華工十年，博得一種應而不實，結果依然造成候補黨等二國奴的文學博士們，超出數萬倍。

Special Memorial Edition

The People's Tribune

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF DEATH OF DR. SUN YAT-SEN, MARCH 12, 1926

Sun Yat-sen: Some Memories

EDITORIAL NOTE: Mr. Eugene Chen, who is the writer of this article, was Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Personal Foreign Secretary during the last three crowded years of the great leader. He took part in Dr. Sun's last and final attempt in 1923 to come to an understanding with the British in the South; and his knowledge of the dead leader's Soviet orientation is direct and intimate.

I may fitly begin with a memory of Dr. Sun which enables me to set the record right regarding the place of his birth. There is a British report of his having been born in Honolulu; and when he lay mortally ill in Tientsin in December 1924, a British paper there deemed it seemly to print a story repeating that particular tale. It happens that I was one of a few friends who were invited to Dr. Sun's last birthday dinner at Canton. It was given on November 2, 1924; and in a mood of reminiscence, he recalled that he was fifty-eight years, calculating his age in foreign style, having been born in the Village of Choy Hang in Heungshan District, Kwangtung, on November 2, 1866, which corresponds to the 25th day of the 4th Moon in the Fifth Year of the Emperor Tung-chi.

A PASSAGE IN THE "GREAT LEARNING"

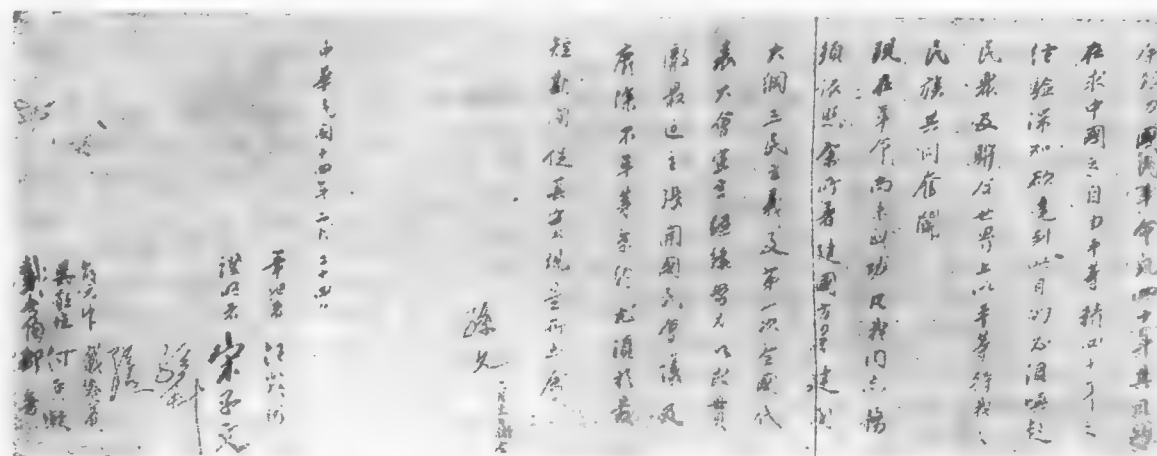
Another memory of Dr. Sun, which continues perpetually, to enrich my own mind, relates to an English version of his of a famous passage in the Great Learning, where Confucius has a vision of the world as a great commonwealth in which men cease from strife and are at peace and the widow, the orphan and the poor are protected and the outer doors are left unbarred. Dr. Sun was very fond of that great passage, and I then realised how deeply the Master's credo on humanity influenced and colored his outlook on life and human conduct. And while working with him on his English translation of the passage, we came to share the view that it was an expression of the human spirit which, in moral richness and breadth of humanity, was unmatched in any other literature though there were kindred spiritual elements in the Funeral Speech of Pericles over the Athenian dead and in the two other great human utterances by St. Paul on Charity and Lincoln in his Gettysburg address.

A JAPANESE CONCESSIONAIRE

As I write other memories crowd on me. There is space here only for two more. The first revealed to me the utter integrity of the man. A Japanese friend, who had signally helped him during his last exile in Japan and whom he found it extremely hard to refuse, wrote to ask him, as the Head of the Government at Canton, for a phosphate concession in the Pratas Islands or Reef. The Pratas, it seems, would form an admirable submarine base in the event of a war involving Japan, Britain and the United States, lying about 150 miles to the south-east of Hongkong and being nearly at the centre of a circle whose radius would reach to the British colony of Hongkong, the Japanese island of Formosa and the American possession of the Philippine Islands. As the Japanese application reached him while the Washington Conference was sitting, Dr. Sun was led to infer that his Japanese friend was probably less a phosphate concessionaire than an undisclosed agent of the Japanese Government which was wisely preparing for possible eventualities that might follow, some day, the termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. He accordingly instructed me to write a "nice letter" refusing the concession. There was a sequel at a later date. When the question of British financial assistance to Dr. Sun's administration was under discussion, it was suggested that his refusal to grant the Pratas concession to the Japanese might be properly disclosed to the British as an indication of his real attitude towards the general British position in the event of an Anglo-American-Japanese conflict in Far Eastern waters. But he resolutely forbade any such disclosure on the ground that his Japanese friend had approached him confidentially.



DR. SUN YAT-SEN
First Chairman of the Kuomintang
November 2, 1866—March 12, 1925



THE WILL OF DR. SUN YAT-SEN

I, Sun Yat-sen have served the cause of the people's revolution for forty years, in which my constant object has been to secure liberty and equality for our country. From the experience of these forty years, I have come to the realization that, in order to reach this object, it is necessary to awaken the masses of our people, and to join hands with those countries in the world which are prepared to treat us as equals in our fight for the common cause.

At present, we have not yet completed the work of the revolution, and it is my sincere hope that all our colleagues will continue to fight for ultimate realization of our goal, in accordance with the plan for National Reconstruction, the Programme of National Reconstruction, the Sanmin Doctrine, and the Declaration of the First National Conference, which have been drawn up by myself. Recently I have proposed the convening of a national people's conference and the abolition of the unequal treaties, and we should especially work toward the realization of these aims within the shortest possible period of time.

he above is my will.
Signed in
March, the eleventh.

SUN WEN

February 24, Fourteenth Year
of the Republic of China

Taken down by Wang Tsing-wei.
Witnesses: T. Y. Soong, Sun Fo, Shao Yuan Ch'ung, Tai En-sai, Wu Ching-heng, Ho Hsiang-jung, Tai Chi'ao, Tsou Lu.

Sun Yat-sen: Some Memories

SOVIET ORIENTATION

My final "memory" is about the Soviet orientation of Dr. Sun. A letter, dated Moscow October 31, 1920, from "G. Tchitcherin" was the first document that Dr. Sun handed to me when I met him at Canton on my return from an extended visit to America and Europe in connexion with missions to Washington, Paris and Geneva. Tchitcherin, who writes idiomatic English,

has a fine and rather hieratic handwriting, somewhat difficult to decipher. Dr. Sun asked me to read the letter aloud, as the famous Commissar's penmanship rather baffled him. After expressing Soviet Russia's gratification at the then turn of events in China, Tchitcherin went on to suggest that Dr. Sun "will be of course not less glad to hear of our successes in defeating Wrangel and of our peace treaties with almost all our neighbours. The treaty with Poland has cost some territory to Soviet Ukraine and to Soviet white Russia, but we rely upon the Polish working masses: their turn will come in the course of Poland's internal development, and they will undo all injustice created by the present Polish governing group." He next expressed the view that "your country advances now resolutely, your people enter consciously the path of struggle against the world-suppressing yoke of Imperialism." And ending the letter on a note of urgency, Tchitcherin emphasised that "trade relations between us must be taken up immediately. No opportunity must be lost. Let China enter resolutely the path of good friendship with us." The two men had met in Paris in the old days when, though starving, they were rich in visions of a great future based on the destruction of Tsardom and the expulsion of the Manchu and the redress of social injustices and ancient wrongs.

YOFFE AND BORODIN

My "Soviet" memory would be incomplete without a brief reference to Yoffe and Borodin. Dr. Sun met the former at Shanghai in January 1923; and following a series of important conversations, a joint statement was issued on January 26 which *inter alia* declared that "Dr. Sun Yat-sen holds strongly that the communistic order or even the Soviet system cannot actually be introduced into China because there do not exist here the conditions which might ensure the success of either Communism or Sovietism. This view is entirely shared by Mr. Yoffe, who is further of opinion that China's paramount and most pressing problem is to achieve national unification and attain full national independence; and regarding this great task, he has assured Dr. Sun Yat-sen that China has the warmest sympathy of the Russian people and can count on the support of Russia."

Following Dr. Sun's return to Canton in February 1923, a remarkable Russian arrived in Canton. It was Mr. Borodin. I was present when Dr. Sun decided to appoint him a high adviser. The appointment was correctly understood as definitely completing Dr. Sun's Soviet orientation. It was not lightly made. Dr. Sun realised that his work demanded foreign assistance which, indeed, is the fundamental thesis of his book on the "International Development of China". He had tried to secure such assistance from the British but failed, and he knew that the British attitude would dictate American policy regarding him. He was forced to look elsewhere. And before death came to him, he was satisfied that his trust in the ability and loyalty of Borodin and his fellow Russian workers had not been misplaced.

EUGENE CHEN

THE KUOMINTANG DECLARATION AT ITS FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1924.

China's way out of internal disorders and External oppressions; Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Famous "San Min Principles"; the party Platform of the Kuomintang

The Declaration of the First National Conference of the Kuomintang was divided into three parts, (1) on the present situation of China, (2) an exposition of the principles of Sanmin Doctrine upon which the whole Kuomintang Program has been based, and (3) the Party Program itself.

Part One first gives a review of the work of the revolution which still awaits its completion and then proceeds to give a critical examination of the different proposals which have been offered as the means of restoring China to a state of freedom and equality with other nations.

It is first pointed out that the Revolution was not a movement solely directed against the Manchus; as such but that the

to Yuan Shin-kai was a great mistake, since Yuan represented the interests of the surviving of the Manchus regime, whose only objects in life were but to procure lucrative jobs for themselves. The reins of the government have never been entrusted to the hands of the men with new ideas.

After the death of Yuan Shin-kai, gradually the militarists worked themselves into power, and this constitutes a further step away from our ideal of a Political revolution for China. As these militarists represent purely Personal interests of individuals, and have nothing to do with the desires or needs of the People, it is natural for them to play into the hands of the foreign imperialists who utilize them for the purpose of instigating internal strife. So China has entered into a period of interminable civil wars, with disastrous consequences on the life of farmers, laborers, and the lower social classes in general.

Propose Solutions

In view of the deplorable state

China's solution to her difficulties as outlined by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, first President of the Kuomintang, the official organ of Nationalist Revolutionary China.

of working for a people's settlement, and respect the rights of their neighboring rivals remains still an open question.

Merchants as Rulers

(4) Another Proposal is that the government should be placed in the hands of the merchant class. But first, it is not at all certain whether such a merchant government could well take care of the welfare of the People as a whole, and secondly, there is every danger that such a government would ally itself with foreign capitalism as the militarist governments have done. A real people's government can only be formed by representatives of all classes of the community.

We see therefore that all such proposals and schemes lead us into nowhere, and that the Sanmin Doctrine, on which the Kuomintang stands, alone provides for all those principles by which a truly democratic government for China can be brought into existence.

THE "SAN MIN" PRINCIPLES AS ENUNCIATED BY DR. SUN YAT-SEN

THE SANMIN DOCTRINE

Being the second First part of the declaration of the delegates of the National Conference of Kuomintang

The principles of the Kuomintang are the same as the principles of the Sanmin Doctrine (三民主義) as outlined by Dr. Sun, and these shall be the principles upon which we shall construct a platform for the Kuomintang. We believe that the only way of saving the country will be by adhering closely to these principles, and they should constitute the goal toward which all our endeavors should be directed.

It is with the purpose of enabling the Party the quicker to realize these principles that this time we have carried through a thorough reorganization of the Party, and put special emphasis on the observance of Party discipline. All this reorganization is for the purpose of more efficiently and systematically working toward the realization of our object.

The Sanmin Doctrine

The Sanmin Doctrine, or the Threefold People's Doctrine, has been explained in detail by Dr.

hope and object of the Kuomintang is that the Chinese people shall become a free and independent people of the earth. Before the Revolution of 1911, this people was subjected under the rule of an alien race, the Manchus, which in turn was not free, but lay immediately under the dominating influence of foreign powers. Hence, before the revolution, the nationality movement took the form of a movement directed against both the Manchus and the European domination of China.

Since the Revolution, however, the first hindrance to our liberty has been disposed of. But European domination still remains with only the difference that whereas formerly there was a talk of partition, now it has become a question of turning China into a protectorate of the western powers, and instead of the idea of a military conquest of pre-Revolution times, the powers are working for an economic subjugation of the nation. The result of the carrying out of such a policy, however, would be the same, as far as the freedom and independence of the Chinese people are concerned.

Fight Imperialists

There is imperative need for our fighting against this foreign imperialist domination, for while the militarists of the country are allying themselves with the foreign powers, the capitalists on the other side are also anxiously waiting for a completion of their scheme of economic conquest of the nation. Both politically and economically there is a steady downward tendency, and it is the duty of Kuomintang members to stop the gradual absorption of China by these enemies of the nation.

In order to achieve our aim, a strong and intimate co-operation between the Party and the different classes of the nation is necessary, viz., the educated classes, the farmers, the laborers, and the merchants. For the principle of nationality has the same message to all these classes, namely that of emancipating them from the imperialistic control. The effects of continued foreign domination on these classes would be equally unfavorable. There is no possibility of developing the national industries, if China lies prostrate

under the shackles of foreign economic control. Its effect on the conditions of the working classes would be still worse since for the inhuman treatment of foreign capitalism there will be national and legal protection.

The reciprocal effects of foreign economic domination and the development of native industries and the improvement of native laboring conditions are therefore very great and the one is seen to be inimical to the other.

We believe that the nationalism of the Kuomintang means unequivocally anti-imperialism, and we believe that the success of the anti-imperialist campaign will be achieved only by working closely with the above-mentioned classes of the people.

Equality of Races

With regard to the principle of equality of races inside the Republic of China, we realize that the development of affairs since the establishment of the Republic has not been entirely satisfactory in this respect, as the Government has been in the hands of officials with the old imperialistic ideas of China. The Kuomintang

will try to arrive at a closer understanding and mutual co-operation with the different races comprised under the Republic, and help them to see the relation between a national revolution and the common good of the races concerned. In this initial period of the Kuomintang's endeavors, it is necessary for us to concentrate all the forces that work for revolution, and to bring about a systematic co-operation with the different races, so that together we may work out a way of emancipating all the peoples.

The Kuomintang hereby solemnly declares its recognition of the principle of racial self-determination, and announces its purpose of establishing a free, united Republic of China consisting of the free alliance of the different peoples, after our victory shall have been gained for this revolution against the present regime of militarism and imperialism.

People's Rights

(2) The Minchu principle (民權主義) or principle of people's rights, the Kuomintang

stands not only for the indirect rights of representation but for the people's direct political rights as well. This means that the people will not only have the right of suffrage, but also the rights of initiative, referendum and recall.

How and through what channels these rights of the people shall be exercised will be provided for in the Constitution, and will be based on the principles of five independent departments as enunciated by Sun Yat Sen, namely, the executive, the judicial, the legislative, the civil examinations and the censoring department. All these provisions are meant to remedy the defects as found in the common existing democratic governments of the west.

It has been found from the experience of the western democratic countries, that these so-

Continued on page 4

The Platform by Which the Kuomintang Will Win To a free, Nationalist China.

As China today is already standing at the brink of a precipice and facing a very critical moment in her history, it is imperative that the Party should at once set about to evolve a platform which should be directed against the immediate evils of the nation. We hope that all people who believe in the importance of working nationally will give the following programme a careful consideration.

A-The International Policy

(1) All unequal treaties, such as those providing for the extraterritorial rights of foreign nationals, the foreign control of the Maritime Customs, and those that imply an infringement of China's sovereignty by allowing foreign nationals political rights on Chinese territory, should be abolished, and in their place should be established treaties which are based on equality and a mutual respect of sovereign rights.

(3) All countries, which voluntarily abandon their special rights in this country, and which are ready to abolish the unequal treaties they have established with China, will be recognized as the most friendly nations to China.

(3) Other treaties which have been established between China and the foreign powers and which in any way are detrimental to China's interests, should also be revised on the principle of mutual respect of sovereign rights.

(4) Within the limit of not injuring China's political interests the foreign loans made by China should be properly secured and repaid.

(5) Foreign loans which have been negotiated by Chinese Government which by bribery or any other illegal process have come into power, were made solely for the purpose of financing the militarists in their purely personal campaigns, or to help them to fill their private pockets. Such loans were not made for the benefit of the people, and the Chinese people will bear no responsibility for returning them.

Conference

(6) A conference, consisting of delegates from social and commercial organizations, such as banks, Chambers of Commerce, and educational institutions, is to be called, for the purpose of discussing plans and measures of the repayment of foreign loans. The carrying out of such a step would mean the freeing of China from a state of economic bondage

arising from her fiscal complications with foreign powers.

3. The Internal Policy

(1) The powers of the Central Government and those of the provincial governments are to be equally distributed. All affairs concerning the whole nation will be entrusted to the charge of the central government, while those conditioned by local circumstances will be taken care of by the local governments. An inclination toward either centralization or decentralization will be avoided.

(2) The people of each province may draw up their own constitutions and elect their own governors. The provincial constitutions may not come into conflict with the national constitution. The provincial governors will be at the head of the provincial self-government, while at the same time receiving orders from the central government regarding the execution of the national governmental affairs.

(3) The hien, or district, is to be the unit of the people's self-government. The people of every self-governing hien will have the right of electing and recalling their own officials, and the right of initiative and referendum in making the laws.

The Land

Land revenues, increment of land value, the products of public lands, and all profits accruing from forests, rivers, and mines are to be placed at the disposal of the local governments, which will use them for the development of local enterprises, and for relieving the poor and the aged, supporting orphans, carrying out famine relief, and the maintenance of public health and similar public enterprises.

The opening up of natural resources, and the running of big industries which might go beyond the power of the local capital will be undertaken by the state. The profits from such undertakings will be equally divided between the state and the local governments.

Each hien has the obligation of contributing a percentage of its income to the national treasury to help maintain the expenses of the state. This contribution should not be less than ten per cent or more than fifty per cent of its total receipts.

(4) Universal suffrage is to be carried out. The old regulation limiting the right of election to only the propertied class will be abolished.

(5) A civil examination will be established to remedy the evils of selective systems.

(6) The people's rights of freedom of belief, freedom of residence, of publication, and of public speech will be established by law.

(7) A system of conscription will be put in force instead of the present system of hiring soldiers. At the same time, special attention will be given to the economic welfare of the soldiers and the lower officers and to the advancement of their legal status. In the armies, industrial and agricultural education will be given. The qualifications for officers will be sharply defined and observed, and the method of promoting and dismissing officers will be reformed.

Bandits, Unemployed

(8) The government is to find means for the provision for the bandits and the unemployed, and engage them in useful work for the country. One of the ways of carrying this out is to appropriate the receipts from the foreign concession after they have been returned to the people of China.

By concessions, we mean those places which lie under foreign consular jurisdiction, and which create the singular phenomenon of "a country within a country."

Such a singular state of affairs should be done away with.

The rights of foreign subjects residing or doing business in the concessions will be determined by the People's Government in accordance with the special treaties entered into between the Chinese and the foreign governments.

(9) The legal tariff for land tax and agrarian tax should be sharply determined. All extra taxes, such as likin, etc., are to be abolished.

(10) A census of the people should be taken, cultivated land should be properly examined, and the production of food supply should be regulated, so that the people may not be in want of food supply.

Agriculturists

(11) A reorganization of the farming communities will be effected so as to improve the life of the agricultural population.

(12) Labor laws will be enacted. Labor conditions be ameliorated. The labor organizations will be protected and the general advancement of the laboring class will be promoted.

(13) Legal, social, educational and economic equality between the sexes will be recognized, and steps to be undertaken for reform of the general development of our country.

women's rights will be encouraged

(14) Universal education should be effectively carried out. Education for the development of children's individuality will be specially attended to, school systems will be revised, educational budgets will be increased and the independence of educational institutions will be guaranteed.

(15) The state is to regulate the laws pertaining to the appropriation of land, the collection of land tax and the registration of land property. Land owned by private individuals will be assessed and reported to the government by the landlord. The state will levy taxes according to the registered value, and, when necessary, may also buy it from the owner according to the registered price.

(16) Enterprises which partake of the nature of monopolies, or which could not be well undertaken by private individuals, like railways and steamship lines, will be owned and managed by the state.

The above items contain what we believe to be the minimum measures of our party platform, and they are the first immediate steps to be undertaken for reform of our country.

DECLARATION OF THE 2ND NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE KUOMINTANG PARTY

The Latest Statement of the Stand of the People's National Party of China; Its Attitude Toward the Major Problems in China and Abroad

The January, 1924, the First National Conference of the Kuomintang was convened in Canton under the direct auspices of the Chairman, Sun Yat-sen, with representatives from all parts of the country. At this conference, a declaration drawn by the Chairman himself was unanimously passed by the delegates at the Conference.

Since the said declaration was issued the members have been unceasing in their fight for a realization of the programme of the Party. The Chairman himself has in the same space of time before his death drafted the National Reconstruction Programme (建國大綱) completed his lectures on the Threefold People's Doctrine (三民主義) and issued two manifestos, one laying out his proposal of the convening of a national people's conference, and the other setting forth his statement on the abolition of unequal treaties.

These last two, which were issued on his coming up North, were followed by his last will, in which he left his last message to the Party. The Members of the Party believe in the full execution of the programme laid out by the Chairman, and uphold both his words and deeds as the ideal of all members of the Kuomintang.

The Road to Freedom

At this Second National Conference, the members feel, on reviewing the development of events since the First National Conference, that the doctrine and the platform outlined by the Chairman contain the only road to freedom for China. We therefore give the following declarations giving an account of the world situation, the present conditions of our country, and the recent endeavours of the Party.

Part I. On The World Situation

The Chairman says in his last will, "In my endeavours for the people's revolution in the past forty years, my object has been to secure liberty and equality for our country." It is seen therefore that the object of the people's revolution is to attain liberty and equality for the nation. As is the existing unequal treaties that have deprived China's free people of their liberty and equality, and as it is Imperialism that has imposed these unequal treaties upon them, the first task of the people's revolution will be to overthrow imperialism.

How to Rout Imperialism

The method for the overthrowing of imperialism has been pointed out by the Chairman himself in his last will, viz., "by awakening the whole people, and joining forces with other nations in the world which are prepared to treat us as equals in the common fight against the imperialist forces."

Included among the nations which are prepared to treat us as equals, are some who have themselves, through their own effort, overthrown the yoke of imperialism, like the Soviet Republic of Russia; and some who are suffering with us under the pressure of the imperialist powers, like the peoples of the different colonies of semi-colonies.

Only by awakening the whole people, and by joining hands with the other oppressed nations of the earth it is possible for us to fight against that imperialism which subject these people to a state of bondage and inequality.

Imperialists' Trotter

Owing to the combined effect of the above three methods imperialism has been able to grow and develop and subjugate the vast peoples of the earth. Since the Great War, however, imperialism has been shaken to its foundation, and the cause which undermine their power are as follows.

(1) Imperialist Russia, formerly the biggest (in space) of the imperialistic powers, has collapsed. As a result of this, one-sixth of the earth's surface which formerly lay under imperialist rule has been set free, and its people have turned out to be the leaders in the fight for the freedom and equality of the nations. This may be counted the greatest loss to the imperialist powers.

Further, Imperialist Germany, owing to her defeat in the Great War, has also been subjected to the oppression of the imperialist powers and now stands among the oppressed of the earth. This constitutes a second loss for the imperialists. Thus the family of imperialist powers has been reduced in number and consequently also in strength.

At Each Other's Throats

(2) Owing to the conflict of interests, the different imperialist powers are jealous of each other and plotting against each other.

For instance, England has never looked with pleasure at the big army and air forces of France, and in the events of the Near East and of Europe itself, has been carrying on a secret fight against her.

Another case is the Locarno Pact which is nothing but a trap laid by England to make use of Germany for the purpose of staying off Russia, and if necessary, also for staying off France.

The result of such plots will be that all will fall hopelessly into the hands of America's economic imperialism. As to Japan, owing to her conflict of interests with America on the Pacific, she is doing her best in the way of increasing her army and navy with the hope of crushing her enemy.

All these show the fundamental weakness that is undermining the imperialist machinery.

Rise of Labor

(4) During the War, the industries in the colonies and semi-colonies received a great impetus for development, and as a natural result, there is a marked development in the standing of the labor classes. The laborers have already, in an amazing degree, become an important factor in the people's revolution.

Nationalism Abroad

(5) All the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies have already in their national movements manifested an awakened self-consciousness. The establishment of the Soviet Republic and the Turkish war for independence have served to stir up the consciousness of their own power, by showing to them how Russia and Turkey, through the efforts of their peoples, have been able to defy and overcome the armies of the big imperialist power.

Poverty And Class War

(6) Inside the imperialist countries, the unemployment situation together with the increasing cost of living and the fall of the paper currencies is precipitating

a condition of increased poverty and has brought it about that the middle classes have lost their power of saving capital. The effect of such economic conditions will be to accentuate the class warfare, sweeping along with it the great masses of the people who will certainly sympathize with the oppressed nations of the earth and join in with their fight for the liberation of the oppressed.

From all these, we can see that the imperialist system has already been shaken to its foundations, and that the time of its final overthrow cannot be far away, the combined forces of the awakened masses of the oppressed being its most fatal enemy. Therefore, while the people's revolution of China is a movement for the liberation of the Chinese people, from one point of view, from the cosmopolitan point of view, it is one with the movement for the liberation of a great majority of mankind.

People sometimes think that imperialism itself, there are oppressed people, but nothing is farther from the truth. Before the war, Alsace-Lorraine was under the direct oppression of Germany, while after the war, it is lying under the hoofs of France's leopards. France seems to have been sorrowing for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine in the past forty-five years. As a matter of fact, it is France's big industries that have been sorrowing for the loss of the iron and coal in that district. Since 1918, when that territory was returned to France, the oppression under French hands has been found to be more insufferable than that under German rule.

While formerly, about two hundred thousand French-speaking people used to be subjugated under German rule, now over one million of the German-speaking population are being crushed under the iron heels of France's new-born narrow-minded patriotism. The French Government has prohibited the people from speaking their own language in the schools, offices, and courts of law, while police and gendarmes have been stationed at all important places to keep a vigilant watch over the natives. Young men have been compelled to serve in the colonial army service. The laborers in their movements have also met with stringent measures of repression. As a result of all this, the laborers' and farmers' organizations have already declared their independence.

There is a population of about two and a half million in Macedonia who have in the past been steadily fighting for their national independence. But at the Versailles Conference, this country was partitioned among the Greeks, the Jugo-Slavs, and the Bulgarians, Jugo-Slavs taking one-half, while Greece obtains four-tenths and Bulgaria secures the remaining one-tenth of the territory.

There is no difference between the attitude of these new-born imperialist powers towards Macedonia and that of France towards the people of Alsace-Lorraine. Their policy is either to suppress or denationalize them. This may be called the common international policy of the Balkan States, a policy which is receiving the silent support of the big powers. The Macedonians however are actively going ahead with their plans and are fighting for the realization of their dream of an independent and free Macedonian Confederation.

In Bessarabia, Bukovina, Rumania, and Croatia, the native people are being subjected to the same treatment those in Macedonia, and they are also progressing with their plans for the restoration of their independence.

Especially striking is the recent development of Nationalist forces in Africa, which so far has been always regarded as lying in a semi-dormant state.

From the south coast of the Mediterranean, down to the Cape of Good Hope, a huge wave of national awakening is spreading over the native population, the negroes and the Arabs.

The most impressive single instance is that of the Rif. Just a short while, owing to the warfare, where less than a million of the Riffs has successfully wedged a war against the oldest of the colonial powers, namely, Spain, and against the French army, one of the biggest and most efficient armies of the world.

The well-known leader of the Rif people, Ab el Krim has defeated a Spanish force of one hundred thousand, with his fifty thousand soldiers. For fully half a year a war has been waged between these native forces and the modern armies of France with their aeroplanes, tanks and all those accessories of modern fighting technique, with the result that the French have sustained a loss of about ten thousand of their best men.

In Algeria and in Egypt the same sort of movement is spreading, and outbreaks follow one another in close succession and with ever increasing intensity and magnitude. The White Power already realize that the Africans of today are no more the Africans of a few decades ago.

Again, Persia used to be one of the countries lying practically helpless in the shackles of British and Russian imperialism. Since the Russian Revolution, the Soviet Republics have already restored to them the amount of liberty and equality which was in their power to give. Aroused and awakened to a consciousness of their newly won liberty and of the new lease of life, the Persians have taken their fate in their own hand and dethroned their old king who was nothing but a tool in the hands of British autocracy. In its place, they have established a democratic government of their own.

In Arabia, the movement for emancipation has already reached the zenith of intensity, and not long ago Lord Balfour had to flee for his safety before an angry crowd in Palestine. A short while ago, a political or official strike has been declared to show their sympathy with the uprisen Syrians.

Since the 24th of July of last year, the French army in Syria has been suffering a whole series of defeats and reverses from the hands of the nationalists in Syria. A fate which has already overtaken them also in Morocco. But the atrocities committed by the French armies are not any the milder for that reason. Women and children have been murdered, cold blood, and houses and villages have been burnt. All these serve merely to foster the growth of the anti-imperialist and the nationalist spirit. A people's government has already recently been established. Although the French may be having the upper hand for the time being the eventual victory of the principle of national independence and of self-determination may be safely predicted.

Again poor old Turkey, which so long in history has been the subject of un-Christian and inhuman cruelty and misrepresentation from the mouths of the so-called Christians, but which is already rising and

ready for a death struggle with the fair representatives of Christian aggression and Christian avarice. The people's party in Turkey have already, by co-operation with Russia, thrown away the yoke of imperialist domination and have become today a free and independent nation.

Just a short while, owing to the British seizure of Mosul, the Turks have assembled their national forces to prepare for a supreme fight for their Political and economic freedom.

How China Today is in the Hands of Imperialists and Militarists; How To Find the Way to Freedom; with whom we ally ourselves and whom we Fight

ready for a death struggle with the fair representatives of Christian aggression and Christian avarice.

(2) Wherever revolutions are successful, the support of the general mass of people, and especially of the peasant and labor classes, is necessary. The earlier movements for national emancipation have failed largely because the movements were confined to the educated classes, and therefore lacked the support of the solid forces that have been the making of history. From the experience of the recent past, we can see that in all future efforts it is necessary to go to the farming and the labor population and to organize them for the fight for national liberty.

The case of the Dutch Indies has been especially notorious. The way in which the Dutch Government treats its subjects in the East Indies might in every respect be compared with the actions of the British and the French. The native Schools and organizations have been closed, public demonstrations have been forbidden, and public movements have been sternly repressed. Teachers and journalists may be freely sent to prison at the pleasure of the Dutch rulers. Patriots may be freely punished or killed. In March, 1925, the Dutch shot down 107 native patriots in a heap, while in September of the same year, 163 native party members were arrested. As usual, these crimes and atrocities only help to incite the native patriotic sentiment and sow deeper the seeds of their hatred against oppressors.

And lastly, in India the Swaraj is a national movement which spreads over the length and breadth of the peninsula. Although the British are doing their level best in the way showing the limits of British frightfulness the national movement, with its method of no co-operation of passive resistance and of severance of economic relations, is still steadily progressing. And so also, in the Philippines, in Annam, Formosa and Korea, the same sort of movement is making steady progress either in the open or in secret. All these movements are bound to end up in a final break-up of the imperialist system.

(4) In all national movements, a narrow-minded type of patriotism has been found to be the greatest danger to their progress, for this always unconsciously leads into a new form of imperialism, so that even after the success of the nationalist movement, the world will derive no benefit except the upshot of a new imperialist power. Therefore it may be laid down as a cardinal principle that all nations which want to be treated as equals by others must be prepared to acknowledge the right of equal treatment for others. Only thus will a co-operation between the oppressed peoples be possible.

The Chinese nationalist movement will co-operate with Soviet Russia which has treated us as an equal, but it will also extend the equal treatment to the other weaker nations, and regard them as friends and allies in the common fight for liberty in the hope that the world may eventually be able to see a true league of equal nations.

(5) The internal dissensions among the imperialist powers themselves and those that exist within each imperialist nation give the oppressed nations a wonderful chance for the overthrow of the imperialist yoke, and may be counted upon as one of the forces contributing toward the final achievement of our aim. Nationalists of all countries should not forget to make full use of this situation, so that all the forces that might be of help to the cause of revolution will be effectively brought into line.

(6) It is one of the accepted corollaries of the above conclusions that we should keep a watchful eye on the intrigues of the imperialists whose most effective tool is insidious and artful propaganda. The purpose of the propaganda is to spread distrust and dissension among the subjects of the colonies and semi-colonies. To the innocent people of the west, they would cause a perfectly meaningless and ungrounded cry about the Yellow Peril, so that the whole world may be looked upon with hatred and suspicion by the white people. On the other hand, to the people of the east, it is this class that has always

Proletariat at the Fore

One special point has to be noted here, and that is, in all the movements for national liberation, it has not been the bourgeoisie or the capitalists that have been the greatest practical help, but in every case, the success is largely due to the fact that there is a propertyless class, which has come into existence as a result of new industrial conditions. It is this class that has always

THE NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM OF DR. SUN YAT-SEN

Twenty-five Steps which will make China a self-governing nation, ruled by a free, independent people, guided by sound social and political principles

The following is the outline of the determined successive steps which should be taken by the People's Revolutionary Government, in its work of national reconstruction drawn up on behalf of the Canton Government by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, when he was at the head of the latter government.

1. The People Government will reconstruct the Republic of China in accordance with the Sanmin Doctrine (三民主義) and the Constitutional system of five independent departments (五權憲法).

2. The first step in reconstruction is the proper care to be given to the people's living, which includes provisions for their food supply, housing and clothing problems, and the opening of communication facilities. For this purpose, the Government will through co-operation with the people, develop agriculture to give the people adequate food supply, establish textile industries to solve the clothing problem, construct on a large scale various kinds of buildings so that the people may have decent and enjoyable houses of residence, and build railways and develop waterways so that the people may have convenient means of travel.

3. Next is the principle of reconstruction of the necessary political training for the exercise of their rights of suffrage, initiative, referendum and recall.

4. Thirdly, comes the principle of people's race. To the weaker races inside the country, the Government will extend a help-attained only when a census has been taken of the district govern themselves. Against those countries which harbor aggressive intentions toward us, the Government will maintain a tight public order has been established of resistance. At the same time, the roads of the district have been built, while the people have already received the training for the exercise of their four kinds of rights and can elect a district chief to carry on the work of the district government and elect representatives to pass laws for the district.

5. The program of the national reconstruction will be divided into three periods: (1) the period of military government, (2) the period of educative government, and (3) the period of constitutional government.

6. During the period of military government, all the machinery would be placed under the direct control of the military government. The

government will use its military power to overcome the reactionary forces inside the country, while propaganda work among the people will help to convert and educate the people politically, so that in the end the people may all be unified under one control.

7. When any Province has been completely brought within military control, then the period of military government ends and the period of educative government begins.

8. During the Period of educative government, the Government will send properly qualified officials to every district to prepare the people for their work of self-government. Communes will be established in the district can be said to have been attained only when a census has been taken of the district govern themselves. Against those countries which harbor aggressive intentions toward us, the Government will maintain a tight public order has been established of resistance. At the same time, the roads of the district have been built, while the people have already received the training for the exercise of their four kinds of rights and can elect a district chief to carry on the work of the district government and elect representatives to pass laws for the district.

9. In a completely self-governed district, the people have the rights of suffrage, initiative, referendum and control.

10. At the beginning of the preparation for self-government, every district must first have a full and complete assessment of the

value of land within its dominion. The land-owners will report this to the government, which will tax them, and if necessary, buy the land from them according to the assessed value. After the registration has been made, if the value of land should arise as a result of political stability and social progress, this increased value is to belong to the inhabitants of the district as a whole and may not be considered as the private property of the individual owners.

11. The following sources are all to belong to the local government: The annual receipts from the land, the increased value of land and the products of public lands, mines, hills, forests, and rivers. Such income is to be used for the provision of the aged and the young, relieving the poor and the famine-stricken, and establishing hospitals and other institutions for public welfare.

12. The opening up of natural resources and the establishment of big undertakings which go beyond the power of individuals and need external assistance will be subsidized by the central government. The profits from such undertakings will be equally divided between the central and local governments.

13. Each district has the duty of supporting the central government to the extent of not more than fifty per cent and not less than ten per cent of its annual income. The exact percentage will be determined by the people's representatives each year.

14. After the local self-government has been established, each district is to elect one representative to participate in the delegates conference and help in the work of the central government.

15. The candidates for offices whether appointed or elected, and whether of the central or of the local government, will have to fit in with the qualifications set up and examined by the central government.

16. When all the districts of a Province have evolved a working self-government, then the Province is to pass into the period of constitutional government. The representatives conference will elect a Provincial governor to supervise the provincial self-government. So far as the national problems of administration are concerned, the Provincial government will receive orders from the central government.

17. During this period, the powers of the central and the Provincial governments will be equally divided. All administrative problems concerning the whole nation will be entrusted to the central government, while those conditioned by local circumstances will belong under the administration of the Provincial government. Neither centralization nor decentralization will be favored.

18. The district is to be the unit of self government. The Provincial government mediates between the central and the district government so as to bring about effective cooperation.

19. The executive department is to have the following ministries: (1) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (2) Ministry of War, (3) Ministry of Finance, (4) Ministry of Agriculture and Mining, (5) Ministry of Labor and Commerce, (6) Ministry of Education, (7) Ministry of Communications.

20. Before the promulgation of the constitution, the heads of the departments are to be appointed, dismissed and controlled by the President.

21. The drafting of the constitution will be based on the "Plan for National Reconstruction" and the work of the two periods of educative and constitutional governments. It will be done by the legislative department and

will from time to time be made known to the people, so as to prepare for its final adoption.

22. When the majority of the provinces in the country have reached the period of constitutional government, a conference of the people will be held to decide on the constitution and promulgate it.

23. After the constitution has been promulgated, the power of the central government will be handed over to the people's conference. This conference will have the right of electing and recalling officers of the central government, and the right of initiative and referendum in making its laws.

24. The day of the promulgation of the constitution is the commencement of the constitutional government. The people of the entire nation will then have a general election. Three months after the election has been completed, the people's government will be relieved of its administrative office, which will then be transferred to the government elected by the people. This will be the completion of the program of national reconstruction.

The stages by which China can rise from her present position of national servitude to one of national equality among the Powers of the world

During the period of constitutional government, the central government, is to establish five separate departments for the administration of the five separate duties of the government: the Executive Department, the Legislative Department, the Judicial Department, the Civil Examinations Department, and the Censoring Department.

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Declaration of the 2nd National Conference

(Continued from page 7)

general, by every conceivable means and at every conceivable opportunity they would try to bring in the equally groundless charge of Bolshevism or Communism.

Such false and mischievous propaganda is calculated to extinguish all the fire and enthusiasm of the ignorant classes for their own salvation. It is necessary at all points to meet this propaganda face to face and show the people where the intrigue is leading us to.

SECTION II

Present Situation in China

It may be gathered from the above that the revolution in China is part of a world-wide revolution. But how is it possible for imperialist propaganda to obtain a foothold in any nation except that there are certain classes in these countries who are ready to make themselves the tools and puppets of the aggressive powers. There are, for instance, as regards China, the following classes whose interests work directly against our national welfare.

Traitorous Militarists. The more powerful of the militarists have made the centralization of China an excuse for the expansion of their own spheres of influence. The smaller ones establish themselves as the heads of different provinces or areas, within which they could exercise their autocratic rule and have an absolutely free hand for the robbery and molestation of the people for their own benefit. The soldiers have no shadow of an idea about serving the people and know only the duty of serving their immediate heads who maintain a semblance of living for them. But even this latter object is not always fulfilled, and the natural result is that many of them have drifted into banditry. So long as this senseless system of raw and unintelligent militarism exists, so long will civil war and internal turmoil be the prevailing condition in China.

Selfish Official Class. In modern democratic countries, government officials are supposed to be the servants of the people, and, except when on official duty, cannot be distinguished from the people themselves. But in China, the officials have become a special class, standing outside the laboring, the merchant or the agricultural classes. The natural trend for them is to try to cater to the militarists so

as to gain personal promotion for themselves.

Cat's Paw Compradores. (3) The Compradores.—These are the cat's paws of foreign capitalism. Through them, the capitalists are able to suck the blood out of the nation, while on their part, through co-operation with foreign capitalists, they are able to satisfy their material desires.

Feudalistic Landlords. (4) The Country Landlords.—These are the remains of medieval feudalism, and they fasten themselves on the products of the farming labor.

In the eyes of the imperialists, the about four classes are the natural classes for them to work with.

For nothing is clearer than the fact that in order to force China down into a quasi-colonial state, the imperialists have nothing to be more afraid of than a popular awakening leading into a national revolution. And in order to check this popular movement, the most effective tool would be classes inside the country whose personal interests run counter to those of their nation. While the compradores and the provincial-minded bourgeoisie may be utilized for furthering their economic ambitions, the militarists and officials, who have all personal ambitions to satisfy, may be made use of for furthering their political interests. Thus economic and political forces work together and are ready to force China down into a state of actual subservience to the foreign powers. This means no sacrifice at all on the part of the compradores, militarists and officials, whose object in life is in any case to build up a family fortune for themselves on the ruins of the people's safety and happiness. Thus through a vicious circle, as it were, they naturally play into each other's hands and into those of their would-be foreign masters.

How foreign imperialism has in every case linked itself up with the forces that work for evil in China may be seen from the following facts. It will be seen that the imperialists, in order to perpetrate their aims for the gradual disruption of China and to make her a ready prey to their economic and political exploitation, have been playing a cool game by making use of the militarists, officials, compradores, and other forces of evil in China.

We know, in the first place, that during the Yuan Shih-kai regime the foreign bankers lent a huge loan of \$250,000,000 to help Yuan's monarchic scheme and try to cater to the militarists so

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We know, in the first place, that during the Yuan Shih-kai regime the foreign bankers lent a huge loan of \$250,000,000 to help Yuan's monarchic scheme and try to cater to the militarists so

always stood by and looked upon with satisfaction, and whenever occasion requires, give these agents a push and with them Godspeed in their work of disintegrating the country.

The Ways Out. So, in conclusion, we come back to the same points with which we started, viz., the only way to salvation for the country lies in the following:

(1) Internationally, we have to overthrow imperialism, and in order to do this, we have (a) to cooperate with the countries where a revolution has already been effected (b) to join forces with the oppressed and down-trodden nations, and (c) to work together with the exploited and the down-trodden classes in the imperialistic nations.

(2) Internationally, we have to fight against the agents of foreign capitalism and imperialism, first the militarists, and then the officials, compradores and the country bourgeoisie. The necessary steps are: (a) the establishment of a people's army, (b) the creation of an honest government, (c) the promotion and protection of new industries, and (d) the protection of farmers' and labor organizations.

In short, we cannot go beyond what is pointed out by the Chairman in seeking a way for national salvation, namely, by awakening the whole masses of the people, and by cooperating with the peoples of the earth who are ready to treat us as equals.

SECTION III
Recent Endeavors of the Party

As we have always believed in the doctrine and programme laid down by the Chairman, we have always been following the line indicated for us under the direct guidance of the Chairman since the First National Conference was terminated. But we have to do this under the most unfavorable circumstances, and if we have gone steadily forward, it is not for the lack of a consciousness of the extreme difficulties that beset our path. The British in Hongkong and Tsao Kun and Hu Pei-fu in the north, with the help of Chen Chiung-ming, Yang Hsi-min and Lin Chen-huan have under the direct protection of the foreign interests, carried on a strenuous campaign against us.

Organizing Efforts
Undaunted by all this opposition, we have established a country-wide organization of local party offices for the purpose of spreading the influence of the party among the people. We have, through the military academies and officers' training corps, created a party army which will serve as the beginning of a true people's army of China. In the civil spheres, there are organizations of farmers and laborers to

Teach them to protect their own interests.

Military Efforts
We have fought against the armies who are in league with the Peiyang clique in the north, and we have defeated the volunteer corps organized by the merchants in Hongkong. And we have directly challenged the armies of Wu Pei-fu and Tsao Kun themselves.

After the downfall of the Chihli Party, the Chairman himself went up north, and issued two manifestos, the one on the abolition of unequal treaties being directly aimed at the imperialistic scheme, and the other on the calling of a people's conference intended to deal a fatal blow to the militarist system within the country. Although the Chairman was not able to live to see the realization of his plans, yet, as messages that struck deep into the breasts of the nation, they have a gigantic and enduring influence over the hearts of the people.

Today these few catch-words and phrases popularized by Sun Yat-sen have been permanently stamped on the heads of the whole young China, and have become the common property of all thinking Chinese.

Throughout the Shanghai and Shantung Massacres of last summer and the recent popular movements in Peking, we could see that the whole nation has been aroused and the people are coming more and more to take a share in the affairs of the country.

To be continued tomorrow

The "San Min" Principles As Enunciated By Dr. Sun

(Continued from page 4)

Throughout the length and breadth of China, there is no place where we cannot find destitute farmers and poor laborers. As their conditions are so difficult, their desires for amelioration of their present circumstances are correspondingly great. So the laborers and farmers may be counted among those who will be most strongly opposed to imperialism and in our work toward a national revolution, the final victory will largely come from the whole-hearted cooperation of the farmers and laborers of the entire country.

The Kuomintang, on its part, will do its best to help agricultural and labor movements, and in every way promote their development, in order that the strength of the national revolutionary movement may be greatly increased. The party should also ask the farmers to join the party and ask them to co-operate in the

cause of the national revolution. For the Kuomintang may be truly said to be working for the interest of the labor and agricultural classes, in that it is against the militarism and imperialism, their most dangerous foes.

A people's soldiery
Chinese soldiery has been composed largely of farmers, as the main population of China is agricultural, and yet the soldiers are unaware of their duty of serving and protecting the people, nor do they know the importance of fighting against imperialism. They have on the contrary been utilized by the militarists to fight against the welfare of the people themselves. The Kuomintang regards this fact as a great anomaly and perceives that the cause for this state of affairs lies in the fact of their poverty by which they have been compelled to serve anybody or any organization which can provide for them a semblance of living, with the result that they are often to injure and molest people of their own kind. In view of the fact the Kuomintang is trying its best to educate its own soldiers and transform them into armies which exist really for the good of the people.

To those who offer themselves to fight in the help for the revolutionary cause, the people of China will extend a special treatment. The soldiers who have served in the revolutionary army will have the option of returning to agriculture, after the revolution has been completed. These soldiers will then be given large tracts of land by which they can maintain themselves and their family.

The above is an exposition of the content of the Sanmin Doctrine. Since the reorganization of the party, a strong discipline will be enforced in order to strengthen the party organization. The members will be taught by every means to fit them for the work of spreading the doctrines of the party and to make them capable leaders in popular movements. At the same time, the party will try its best to spread its influence and obtain new adherents for the party throughout the country, with the hope that the party may ultimately come into power. When the executive power will still lie with the party itself, in order that all securities and intrigues against the party may be effectively dealt with. For only with a strong party organization, will the party be able to serve the country.

To Fire Useless Officials So Rest Can Get Salaries

Cabinet Worried by Impossibility Of Continuing In Present State Of Perpetual Insolvency

Kuo Wen

At the regular meeting of the Cabinet yesterday morning, the question of enforcing retrenchment to relieve the existing financial stringency of the Government was brought up for discussion. It was pointed out that the present state of affairs in the Government could not long continue, especially as the non-payment of the salaries of the officials for months on and would seriously affect their morale.

It was suggested that in the discharge of superfluous officials two rules should be observed. In the first place, those who have seen long service in the Government and hold substantive posts should not be dismissed. Secondly, those who were admitted into the Government service by competitive examinations should be retained. Those who do not fulfill these two requirements should be weeded.

After the discharge of superfluous officials, the Government plans to pay those retained regularly, while an attempt will also be made to clear up their past arrears. The meeting this morning, however, reached no definite decision in the matter, although all the Cabinet ministers saw the necessity of retrenchment. The matter will be again brought up for discussion at the next meeting of the Cabinet.

Students Launch Campaign To Get Schools Opened

Normal University Urges Other Government Universities To Join In Movement To Secure Continuation Of Studies

Chung Mei

The students' campaign to open the government universities was begun by a meeting of the Self-Government Association of the Normal University, when it was decided to call the other eight schools to join them.

Representatives are to be sent to see the Premier, Ministers of Finance and Education to urge that funds be found for the schools. The campaign in which the eight schools are to be asked to join is to be known as the "studying movement" and envoys are to call on the Teacher's Union and the union of the authorities of the nine schools to urge them to plan for an early reopening.

Letters are to be sent to the individual teachers asking them to help the students pending the resumption of classes.

The association is to publish a statement showing the financial condition of the nine schools and setting forth the earnest desire of the students to get back to their studies.

The attempt to secure the Russian Boxer remission for the endowment of the schools is to be backed by the Association.

EXTRALITY TRIP MAY BE POSTPONED

Nippon Denpo

The projected inspectory trip by the Commission on Extraterritoriality will probably be postponed, seeing that traffic by the Peking-Suiyuan Railway is already difficult, and other railways threaten to be interrupted to traffic.

S. S. "AMERICA" FORMER GERMAN LINER, BURNS

United Press

Washington, March 10.—The United States steamship "America," formerly the German liner, "Amerika," burned while lying in her dock at Newport News, Virginia, today.

The burning was the result of the explosion of an acetylene torch used by a workman on board.

There were no casualties, but the ship is believed to be a total loss.

PERMANENT SEAT ON QUIT

(Continued from page 3)

committee consisting of representatives of twelve nations, including the former Allies, today unanimously recommended Germany's admission to the League.

This was according to plan, and meets with the approval of all—providing such Powers as France and Great Britain can be assured that the balance of power can be safeguarded by satisfactory enlargement of the Council.

In recommending the admission of Germany to the League, Sir Austen Chamberlain's committee reported that Germany has "fulfilled all conditions for membership."

German Want Barter

The German delegation today indicated that it had no intention of bartering an acquiescence in admission of Poland to the League Council in exchange for a cutting-down of Allied forces of occupation in the Rhineland and elsewhere.

"The question of the League Council enlargement is purely a League matter," declared a German spokesman, "while the question of the occupation of German territory is a matter which must be handled by the Allies and Germany."

Sweden is the one member of the present Council which is openly against the creation of several more permanent Council seats. France and Italy, which both have permanent seats, are for it, as are Spain, Czechoslovakia and Brazil, all of whom are candidates for such seats. Belgium and Uruguay are lined up with the other two possessors of permanent seats, Great Britain and Japan, in professing to maintain an "open mind," but the British at least are said to be strongly in favor of more permanent seats so long as they are given a decisive voice in naming the holders.

Asiatic
Berlin, March 10.—That Brazil has registered for a council seat through its deputy is regarded as a serious obstacle in the Geneva program and it is now generally believed that Brazil which is one of the ten nations who decide

Communists And Nationalists Have Free-For-All Row

Anti-Russian Meeting Ends In Uproar; Use Chairs As Weapons; Several Wounded Sent To P. U. M. C.

Day before yesterday the auditorium of the Third Campus of the National University witnessed a scene of bloody scuffle between the nationalist students and members of the communist party, during which about ten persons were severely injured.

A meeting was being held by the newly established Anti-Russian Society, under the auspices of the Nationalist Association. Prof. Li Huang and other nationalist leaders were invited to give speeches on China's relations with Russia, and members of both the nationalist and the communist parties were present in large numbers. When Mr. Peng Shao-hsin was about to finish his speech, and following a strongly-worded denunciation of Russia by the speaker, one member of the communist party stood up and called the latter a bloodhound of the imperialists. Mutual recrimination followed, and soon the hall was turned into a free for all battle-ground, in which broken parts of chairs were used as missiles and hurled across the room. Both sides report several cases of severe injuries.

By the time the police were called in, the room was already vacated by the fighters, and consequently no arrests were made. Only the more seriously wounded had been left behind, these were taken to the P.U.M.C. for treatment.

on membership will veto Germany getting a permanent seat in case Brazil is ignored. It is rumored in the German camp that the German delegation is prepared to return home, if Brazil is successful.

Sir A. Chamberlain is disturbed at Germany's pertinacity in the question of the council enlargement and is gradually giving up the idea of providing Poland and certain other Latin Countries with permanent seats, says the "Evening Standard."

Germany Unchanged
Reuter
Geneva, March 10.—Notwithstanding the German newspaper reports of a changed attitude on the part of Germany, Reuter learns that she is adamant in opposing the election of other candidates before herself.

Asiatic
Berlin, Mar. 10.—In today's preliminary conference at Geneva from which Germany is excluded and which will for the first time discuss German membership, the League's army, and aviation commissions will submit reports on Germany's disarmament.

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FRENCH SENATE DELAYS DEPOSITING OF LOCARNO PACTS

Asiatic
Berlin, Mar. 10.—Documents containing the nations ratifications of the Locarno Pact were to be placed in the League of Nations archives today. This action had to be postponed as the French senate has not yet ratified the Pact.

Protest Customs Treasury Stand Of Shanghai Bankers

Merchants Resent Indifference Of Banks Of China And Communications

Kuo Wen
Shanghai, March 10.—The Banks of China and Communications remain indifferent towards the advocacy for the establishment of the Customs Treasury, much to the dissatisfaction of the group of prominent merchants who are interested. Mr. Yu Ho-teh and others have threatened to launch an attack on the two banks should they continue to be adamant.

The General Chamber of Commerce wired to the Peking Government yesterday demanding that the draft treaty of reciprocal tariff between China and Japan be referred to the Chambers of Commerce of the various provinces for minute consideration before its formal signature.

Japan Pact Terms Not Decided Yet

Chinese Delegation Informs Merchants That Formal Negotiations Not Begun Yet

Kuo Wen
The Union of Chambers of Commerce held another special meeting Wednesday for the discussion of the tariff problem. A reply to the enquiry of the Union regarding the Sino-Japanese Reciprocal Tariff treaty from the Chinese delegation to the Customs Conference was first read. The reply points out that no formal negotiation has yet been stated and all press reports relating to the reciprocal tariff terms are untrue. As the proposed treaty is not within the scope of the Customs Conference, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Agriculture and Commerce, the Customs Administration etc. are directly handling it.

WAR PRISONERS AT TEMPLE OF HEAVEN

Kuo Wen
A batch of 1049 Mukden war prisoners arrived here at one o'clock Wednesday afternoon and were quartered in the Temple of Heaven, yesterday they were being sent to Hsi Yuan, where they will stay pending the conclusion of the present war.

DRUSE CHIEF HIT BY FRENCH BOMB

Asiatic
Berlin, Mar. 10.—Sultan Atrash, chief of the rebellious Druse tribes, was seriously wounded by a bomb dropped from a French airplane according to a Damascus report.

German Ace Killed

Asiatic
Berlin, March 10. The German ace Billik was killed, when his plane which he was trying out on the Staacken aerodrome plunged to the ground. Billik had won thirty-one airbattles during the War.

Japan Tariff

Router
Tokyo, March 10.—The Lower House has passed the tariff legislation.

Plan Deep Channel Between New York And Great Lakes

May Make Upper Hudson And Erie Canal Navigable For Ocean Liners; New York Feeling Pinch Of Competition

Asiatic
Berlin, March 10.—Plans for deepening the Erie canal and the upper Hudson river so as to enable ocean steamer communications with the Great Lakes, will most likely be favored by the United States War Department, it is reported. These two water ways are among the chief causes for the greatness of New York, connecting it with the hinterland and the big lakes. Modern shipping requires better facilities.

Chicago and East Canadian cities are now becoming serious competitors for New York. Probably the other great plan to connect the lakes with the Mississippi valley will follow the execution of the Erie Hudson conservancy measures. The military advantage of inland navigation routes in case of war instead of ocean routes would be considerable.

ENEMY'S REAR

(Continued from page 3)

during the last few days. Indeed there appears to have been a lull in the main operations between the Fengtien and Kuominchun forces in the region of Lanchow, while the activities of the Kuominchun army operating against the Allied troops along the Tsinpu Line seem to have been confined to minor movements.

In Honan a period of hectic struggles has been followed by a general advance on the part of the Hupeh forces, which have made considerable progress towards the North without meeting any strong opposition.

Shansi Troops Withdraw
According to Kuominchun reports, the Shansi troops, after occupying Shihchiachwang, have been withdrawn to Shansi and General Yen has sent an apology to General Wei-Yi-san for having driven his troops away "through a misunderstanding". In reporting this incident General Wei adds that the Shansi forces at Mingyuehien have been defeated and the railway bridge there repaired.

The Kuominchun communique says, with regard to the situation beyond Machang, that General Han Fu-chu has sent a Brigade against the Allied forces occupying Hsingchi. General Chang Ju-kwai reports that his brigade has reached Hsiaowangchuang and is engaged with the enemy stationed there.

The communique later on indicates that the Kuominchun forces captured Hsingchi and defeated a counter-attack by the Shantung troops. Meanwhile the Kuominchun cavalry are said to have captured Chichiauwu and to have begun an attack on Tulin, west of Tsangchow.

Another Kuominchun report states that General Li Ming-chun has received a telegram from Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang in which the latter points out that he has already retired and says he sees no reason for emerging. His only desire is that his late colleagues may preserve the dignity of the Kuominchun.

To Aid Honan
Asiatic
Kalgan, March 9.—Owing to his inability to leave Kalgan at the moment, General Chang Chih-kiang, the acting Tupan of the North-west, has appointed General Shih Yu-shan to head an expedition to Paoting for the relief of the second Kuominchun in Honan. General Shih is leaving Kalgan today for Paoting to check any further advance of Wu Pei-fu's troops.

LATIN LETTERS TO SUPPLANT ARABIAN IN TURKISH LANDS

Asiatic
Berlin, Mar. 10.—A Congress of Turkish speaking countries is meeting in Baku and has decided to substitute Latin letters for Arabian letters in all Turkish speaking lands. This will include Transcaucasia, Uzbekistan, Turkestan and other Inner-Asiatic districts bordering on the Soviet Republics.

China Is Charged In Commons With Default Of Loans

Representations By Minister In Peking Have Failed, Says Under-Secretary For Foreign Affairs, Long Arrears

Router
London, March 10.—In the House of Commons to-day, replying to Mr. W. Forrest (Liberal), Mr. G. Locker-Lampson (Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) said that, despite their public announcement on July 4, 1924, of their intention to resume payment of and meet all arrears of principal and interest in connection with the German issues of the Tientsin-Pukow railway loans of 1908 and 1910 and the Hukuang railways loan of 1911, the Chinese Government, with trifling exceptions, had failed to do so and also since that date had suspended the service even of validated bonds.

Representations by His Majesty's Minister at Peking on behalf of the British holders of these German issues had been resultless and the Chinese Government had given no satisfactory reason for differentiating between the British and the German issues. Meanwhile the situation had been changed by the recent default on the two British issues and His Majesty's Minister was pressing the Chinese Government to make good their default on the loans in question.

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TORNADO BRINGS GREAT DAMAGE

Asiatic
Berlin, March 10.—A terrific tornado accompanied by a big drop in temperature swept along the Dalmatian coast on Monday. The freight steamer "Celuo" was stranded and the crew drowned. Fifty fishing smacks were sunk with their crews on board and a railroad train thrown from the tracks near Spalato.

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Inspector General of Customs.

Inspectorate General of Customs, Consolidated Debt Office, Peking, 6th February, 1926.

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Permanent Seat Or Quit Says Brazil

Will Stay In League Only Long Enough To Veto Germany's Election To Council, Brazil Threatens

Fear At Geneva That Other Powers May Follow Lead Of Brazil; Germany Still Adherent; If Others Admitted, She Leaves; Reaching Climax

United Press

Geneva, March 10.—Behind the veil which has been drawn closing about the League of Nations crisis concerning permanent membership on the League Council, events today moved steadily toward a climax.

Mello Franco, delegate from Brazil to the Council, today laid the cards down face up so far as Brazil is concerned. Brazil now holds a non-permanent seat to which it was elected by the assembly last year; with Germany now on the high road to membership both as an Assembly member and as holder of a permanent seat on the Council, Brazil now desires similar permanent representation on the Council.

In pursuance of this end, the Brazilian delegate informed other members of the Council today at a secret Council session, the Government of Brazil has instructed its representative to withdraw altogether from the League of Nations of Brazil is not given a permanent seat on the Council.

But before withdrawing, Mello Franco continued, he is instructed first to veto Germany's election to the Council.

Others May Follow

Since a single vote can bar election of a new permanent member of the Council, Brazil's announced intention—if adhered to rigorously—may have the effect of splitting the gathering and perhaps defeating the entire planned program. It is now feared that other claimants for permanent council seats, including Spain, Poland, Belgium, and possibly even China and Czechoslovakia, may assume a similar position.

Sir Austen Chamberlain's sub-

(Continued on page 5)

Briand, Nine Times Premier, Forms A Cabinet In 10 Hrs.

New Finance Minister A Moderate, No Innovations Expected; Briand Leaves For Geneva

Paris, March 10.—M. Briand, who has nine times been Premier, formed a Cabinet in ten hours. Both of these achievements are records.

The complexion of the new Ministry is Left but with a leaning slightly further towards the Right than it is predecessor. The inclusion of M. Lamoureux and the wartime defeatists M. Malvy assures the support of the bulk of the Radicals.

It is worthy of note that M. Raoul Perot, who is in a moderate and is unlikely to propose a startling innovation.

M. Briand for the moment considers the League crisis even more urgent than the one in Paris and he returns to Switzerland tonight.

M. Briand's resumption of office as Premier has created an excellent impression. The new Cabinet comprises six Radical-Socialists, two Republican-Socialists, two Radical-Leftists, two Left-Republicans and one non-party Deputy. Three Ministers are Senators.

A Military Power in the Kuomintang Party



General Chiang Che-sak

A Civil Power in the Kuomintang Party



Wang Chung-wei

Enemy's Rear Ranks Cut By Kuominchun

Shansi Troops Withdraw, Hupoh Forces Advance To North; Troops Dispatched To Aid Kuominchun In Honan

Chung Mei

The recovery of Potouchen by the Kuominchun under Kung Fukuei Wednesday afternoon is reported in a telephone message from Tientsin, which states that the Chihli Shantung rear is now cut.

The "Yi Shih Pao" places the battle line to the north of Tsangchow, where it states the Kuominchun has 50,000 troops facing the Shantung Chihli army whose morale is decidedly bad. While it believes Tehchow to be the ultimate Kuominchun goal, it nevertheless expressed the belief that when the enemy has been driven from Chihli, the advance might stop.

Little News

Very little news regarding the civil war has reached Peking (Continued on page 6)

Seek Closer Tie For Russian and Japanese Labor

Soviet Unions Invite Delegation From Japan To Study Conditions and Establish Firmer Relations

Tass

Moscow, March 10.—The Federal Council of Trade Unions has sent an invitation to the trade unions in Japan to send a delegation of Japanese trade unionists to Soviet Russia "for the purpose of establishing closer contact and the mutual study of the conditions of the working class in the two great neighbouring countries". The Federal Council requests that, if possible, the delegation consist of representatives of all the trade unions in Japan. In the same message, the Russian Federal Council of Trade Unions expressed its gratitude for the welcome extended by the Japanese workers to the Russian Labour Delegation visiting Japan last year and its warm sympathy for the workers who were arrested by the Japanese police on the occasion of that visit.

Ships Given Free Access At Taku Bar

No More Firing From Forts, But Report That Fengtien Warships Are Resuming Bombardment

Chung Mei

Shipping yesterday was having free access at the Taku Bar following the relenting of the Kuominchun at the forts.

The morning train from Tientsin was only fifteen minutes late and carried some American mail. The S. S. Tungchow which was bringing American mail was not able to get up the river Wednesday but was expected to make Tientsin this morning.

Nippoo Dempo

Tientsin, Mar. 11.—The Fengtien warships cruising off Taku taking the advantage of high tide are approaching the Taku Fort and bombarding it. Taku is not yet free from danger of war.

IBN SAID RECOGNIZED AS KING OF HEDJAS

Asiatic

Berlin, Mar. 10.—Ibn Said is officially recognized as King of Hedjas by the British and French mandate governments, according to a Cairo dispatch via London.

FRANCE GETS LARGEST SHARE OF DAWES FUNDS

Asiatic

Berlin, Mar. 10.—The amended general report on the Dawes Plan shows that of 84,440,271 marks received from Germany in February, France got 46,640,556, that is more than one half.

SAGHALIN OIL WORKERS TO GET HIGHER PAY

Tass

Moscow, March 9.—It is reported from Harbarovsk that the Far Eastern Regional Committee of the Russian Miners Union has come to an agreement with the Japanese North Saghalin Oil Enterprises Association, according to which the company will raise the existing scale of wages of its workmen by 30% and undertake not to raise the price of the food products sold to the workmen at the company's stores.

Evils Of Treaties Shown By Graphic Kuomintang Posters

Oppressions Of Militarists And Imperialists Shown In New Posters Appearing In Peking

Chung Mei

Kuomintang posters have appeared in public places in Peking calling for the abolition of unequal treaties and likewise the oppression of Chinese militarists.

Printed in blue with a picture of a Chinese soldier running with a fixed bayonet, one poster lays the ills of China to its militarists who must be abolished.

Other posters go for the unequal treaties, quoting Dr. Sun Yat-sen's description, namely that an unequal treaty is a "contract selling all of us to others, which must be first get rid of if imperialism is to be overthrown."

The advice is further given that in order to cancel the unequal treaties, the first step is to call the People's Conference.

Eugene Debs To Be Given Full Pardon

U. S. Socialist, Convicted Under Espionage Act, To Be Pardoned And Restored To Citizenship

United Press

Washington, March 10.—It is understood that a full pardon with restoration of citizenship is to be given Eugene Debs, several times candidate for the Presidency on the Socialist ticket.

Debs was convicted under the Espionage Act of having hindered enlistments in the U. S. Army and otherwise obstructing war preparations. He was subsequently released from prison by action of the President.

The movement to restore Debs' citizenship is the result of a general feeling that Debs was a sincere conscientious objector and that treatment of him as a criminal did not suit the case. He is at present editing a new weekly publication in Chicago.

BRITISH COAL COMMISSION SUGGESTS STATE CONTROL WITH BETTER CONDITIONS, LESS PAY

Reuter

London, March 10.—The report of the Coal Commission says that the unanimous depression of the industry cannot be attributed to political unrest or the restriction of output among the miners, or inefficiency of management. It disagrees with the view of the mine-owners that the only practicable remedy is to reduce wages, lengthen hours and decrease the railway rates by lowering the wages of the railwaymen. It declares that drastic reorganization of the industry is necessary.

The Commission's recommendations for reorganization include the State acquisition of coal—by purchase where it has a market value and by declaration of State ownership where it at present has none. A Coal Commission should be appointed to acquire and administer mineral property and national fuel and a

Power Committee should be established to coordinate national heat, power and light requirements. Great national advantages would ensue from perfecting processes of low temperature carbonisation with the assistance of the State.

Subsidy Indefensible

Co-operative selling agencies should be formed to improve distribution and local authorities should be empowered to engage in retailing coal. The standard length of the working day should remain unaltered. Profit-sharing should be made obligatory and other improvements effected in the condition of the miners. Continuance of the subsidy is indefensible and should never be repeated.

The Commission considers that the only way to avert impending disaster is to revise the wages fixed in 1924 which was a time of temporary prosperity.

Sun Yat-sen Honoured By Peking Today

Commemoration Of Nationalist Leader's Death Opened By Lantern Parade; Sun's Picture In Palace; All Pay Respects

The Peking commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's death was begun last night with a grand lantern procession. Toward 6 o'clock, the pailou in front of the Tienanmen was already brilliantly illuminated. Kuomintang banners and pennants were flying from all the balconies. While on top of the Tienanmen, along the rampart right above the gate from itself, floated a big banner of the Kuomintang in blue and white. Streams of people were seen passing through the gate, which had been opened for this special occasion.

All over the city, the students of the Peking Student Union were stationed in different groups at various squares and street corners lecturing to the people on the significance of Sun Yat-sen's work for China and explaining to them the principles of the Kuomintang.

Students Participate

The lantern procession in which over thirty student bodies took part was started from Chi Ho Lou in the east city and took its course through Pei Ho Yen, Morrison Street, Hatamen Street out through the Hatamen gate, to outside Chienmen. A special feature was about a dozen of thirty-foot long lanterns on which were written the words "Abolish the Unequal Treaties," "For the Emancipation of China," etc. A special lantern about ten feet across had written on it the Last Will of Sun Yat-sen. The processionists all carried a lantern each in their hands.

An unusually big celebration is being staged for the three days, beginning today. A photograph of Dr. Sun is placed on the throne dais in the throne hall inside the palace with huge scrolls hanging on both sides suggesting the idea of Dr. Sun as the uncrowned king of young China. As it is expected that there would be too great a crowd, making it difficult to keep order, the eastern and western gates to the Palace will be closed, and entrance will be allowed only through the Tienanmen.

The order in which the different bodies will go in to the throne hall to pay respect to the deceased national leader is as follows. Friday: at nine, the representatives of outside circles, at ten, the local branch of the Kuomintang; at eleven, the representatives of the agricultural and labor classes. In the afternoon, from one to four, the higher schools and colleges will be admitted. On Saturday, the morning will be reserved for the primary and secondary schools, while in the afternoon the officials, militarists and foreign guests will be invited on the morning of Sunday, the public and other general bodies will be admitted, and in the afternoon, the different progressive organizations will go to the western hills to offer their respect in front of the coffin.

RESCUE TEN MORE ENTOMBED MINERS

Reuter

Bluefields, March 10.—Ten of the entombed men were rescued yesterday evening from the mine where the explosion occurred on March 8. Eight are still buried down the mineshaft and eleven are known to be dead. The men who were rescued last evening had barricaded themselves nearly two miles back in the mine in an effort to escape from the deadly gas.

The People's Tribune

IS THE ENGLISH SECTION OF THE KUO MIN HSIN PAO (國民新報), AN ORGAN OF CHINESE NATIONAL OPINION

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THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE is published every morning except Monday and holidays.

Friday, March 12, 1926.

Foreign Policy In China: Demand For A Revision.

We reproduce below an article from the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science by Professor G. Nye Steiger, Assistant Professor of History in Simmons College, U. S. A., and sometime Professor of History and Government, St. John's University, Shanghai. It is a powerful plea for an immediate revision of foreign policy in regard to China. He emphasises the deep significance of the Nationalist manifestations in Shanghai and elsewhere in China, but he judges rightly that "the people of China have no desire to deprive themselves of the benefits resulting from foreign trade, and there appears little reason to fear that the triumph of nationalism will endanger the legitimate aspirations of Western commerce and investment." He next defines the alternatives confronting the Foreign Powers in terms of either an attempt to re-establish by "forceful methods their crumbling edifice of special privileges" or an abandonment "frankly and with good grace, the complex of forced and unilateral treaties by which China has, for more than three quarters of a century, been held under foreign domination." And ending on a grave note, Professor Steiger warns the Foreign Powers that if they "fail to appreciate the situation and delay in meeting the nationalistic demands of the Chinese people, the present popular resentment may easily reach an intensity which will lead to the catastrophic destruction of all foreign interests which have grown up within the country during the last hundred years."

We have to underline this note of warning. The Nationalist Movement in China is under leadership that is resolved to secure the liberation of the Nation from the system of Imperialist domination established under the Unequal Treaties. It is the Nationalist desire that this liberation may be secured through a voluntary surrender on the part of the Powers of the special privileges vested in them and their nationals. But it is equally a Nationalist determination to conquer the liberation of the Nation through the Revolutionary Methods whose enforcement and application follow historical laws what time an afflicted nation rises in its wrath against the alien oppressor.

A new day will have dawned for the Western nations when they realize that the "gunboat policy" in China is a failure, and that the only possible course is one of graceful submission to the national aspirations of the Chinese people. For three and a half years the United States and the other Western powers have been marking time in their relations with the Chinese Republic. Of the various good intentions embodied in the resolutions which were adopted by the Washington Conference, the only one to be put into effect by the conferring powers was that which abolished the foreign post offices on Chinese soil. Negotiations for the rendition of Wei-hai-wei and Kwang-chow-wan have become involved in diplomatic intricacies, while the resolutions dealing with the presence of foreign troops, with the Chinese tariff, and with the abolition of extraterritorial privileges, have, until the last few weeks, been blocked by the delay of France in ratifying the basic Nine-Power Treaty.

Diplomatic Fabianism

During the period since the close of the Washington Conference, Japan, alone of the powers there represented, has taken positive steps toward a revision and improvement of her relations with China. The agreement relating to Shantung, and Japan's consequent withdrawal from that province, have not completely dispelled anti-Japanese sentiment in China, but they have done much to remove a serious stumbling-block from the path of future Sino-Japanese relations. There are, of course, arguments which may be brought forward in extenuation of the failure on the part of the Western governments to give effect to their Washington program. The internal situation in China has, during the last three years, been so chaotic as to warrant the question whether any government existed with which an arrangement could be made, or which could accord protection to foreign life and property. Yet the fact remains that the Western powers have been marking time, while Japan, and—to an even greater extent—Russia, have been making considerable progress in the direction of increased consideration for Chinese susceptibilities.

Developments in China have now brought the question of Chinese policy abruptly into the foreground. The disturbances in Shanghai and the sympathetic demonstrations in various parts of the Republic have furnished unmistakable evidence as to the intense resentment with which the Chinese people regard the extremely privileged position enjoyed by the stranger within their gates. The people of China have no desire to deprive themselves of the benefits resulting from foreign trade, and there appears a little reason to fear that the triumph of nationalism will endanger the legitimate aspirations of Western commerce and investment. But the present government at Peking lacks the power—even if it has the will—to secure from the nation a fulfilment of the humiliating concessions which were, between 1840 and 1900, forced from the Manchu Dynasty.

Alternative Solutions

The "Treaty Powers" are confronted by a situation which compels a choice between two alternatives. They must either seek to re-establish, by forceful methods, their crumbling edifice of special privilege, or they must abandon, frankly and with good grace, the complex of forced and unilateral treaties by which China has, for more than three quarters of a century, been held under foreign domination. There will be no lack of voices raised in support of the first of these alternatives. In the Treaty Ports of China there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of foreign residents who sincerely believe that the foreigner cannot exist in China if divested of the privileges which he now enjoys. There are many others who, contemptuously ignorant of the strength of the Chinese people, regard the conquest and subjugation of the Republic as a simple matter. Yet the armed invasion of China for the purpose of restoring Western dominance is, today, an idle dream. A people whose nominal government plays no important part in the national existence, a country whose economic life is almost independent of its great cities, China offers no "military objective" upon which the plans of the invader could be focussed. A million troops could be poured into the country, and they would merely suffice to hold a few provincial capitals together with the essential lines of communication. Such railroads as exist would be destroyed by the peasants of the countryside, and some—probably most—of the military commanders now engaged in civil strife would combine to make common cause against the outsider. An attempt to invade and conquer China, if such an attempt were made, would result in a catastrophe similar to that which overtook the "Grand Army" of Napoleon in Russia. There is but the one alternative to face. Sooner or later, voluntarily or in spite of themselves, the powers must face the fact that a new day has dawned in China, and that the policies of yesterday are no longer "a propos". If this realization comes promptly, if the decision to meet China as an equal and treat her with respect is made voluntarily and gracefully, the bitterness with which the Chinese people have come to regard the West will soon be dissipated, and the intercourse between China and the West will become more cordial and beneficial than it has ever been under the old regime.

It is to the credit of the United States that the State Department at Washington has been strong in its insistence that steps be taken toward settling the question of extraterritoriality along the lines which were laid down by the Washington Conference. The recent action of the Administration in remitting the

EXPENSE 30,000 AT LAYING OF CORNERSTONE OF SUN YAT-SEN MAUSOLEUM IN NANKING TODAY

Kuo Wen

Elaborate preparations have been made for the ceremony in connection with the laying of the foundation stone of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum in the Tzechin (Purple) Hill of Nanking, to be held today. The contract for the work of construction has been awarded the Yao-sin-kee. Architect of Shanghai, and is to be completed in two years.

According to the programme of the day, announced by the Bureau in charge of Dr. Sun's funeral and burial, in the morning a memorial service in commemoration of the anniversary of Dr. Sun's death is to be held and the ceremonies in connection with the laying of the foundation stone of the tomb are to be carried at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. A polished oblong-shape

granite has been prepared on which are engraved the date of the occasion. A brass box wherein Dr. Sun's annals and books he edited, are to be placed, is to be buried beneath the foundation stone as an eternal memory of the revolution leader.

Besides Mrs. Sun Yat-sen and her son and party, who have already arrived to attend the ceremonies personally, the Bureau has issued some 1,000 invitations to the officials and prominent personages of Nanking. Accommodations for the presence of 30,000 people have been arranged, besides a number of temporary platforms from which the Kuomintang leaders may lecture to the people. A banquet in honour of this occasion is to be given in the evening.

OUTER MONGOLIA

(Continued from page 3)

by Mongolian Co-operative enterprises and the rest by other Mongolian and foreign enterprises. The Co-operative Movement in Mongolia is growing rapidly and is closely connected with the Co-operative Movement in Soviet Russia. We have now 120 co-operative organisations, all of which were set up with the aid of Soviet Russian co-operative experts. Similarly with regard to raising the level of agriculture; the establishment of agronomic centres, the cultivation of State experimental fields for industrial crops, the development of pedigree live stock etc. All this is being done with the aid of Soviet Russian experts. To Soviet Russia we are also obliged for the introduction of

European "medicine."

"But the ties which are interruptedly growing between Mongolia and the U.S.S.R. would become still more firm if certain technical obstacles, which stand in the path of our mutual aims, were removed", remarked G. Amor. "For example, the question of transporting Soviet goods. Certainly the means of bringing these goods into Mongolia must be improved. Moreover, the goods themselves must be better adapted to the Mongolian market. Jointly with the competent organs of the U.S.S.R. to devise means to remove these obstacles and the settlement of the question of granting greater freedom of action to our Trade Representative in Soviet Russia are the principal tasks of the delegation", concluded the Mongolian Minister of Public Economy.

final portion of the Boxer indemnity (some six and a quarter million dollars) is an additional, and not inconsiderable move toward gaining the favor of China. But more than this will be required to remove the distrust and suspicion with which Americans, in common with all other foreigners, are now regarded by the Chinese people. The aspirations of modern China cannot be appeased by gracious words—nor bought up for six million dollars.

Necessity For Revision

A revision of past policies toward China is demanded by considerations of pure self-interest. Strong in their reliance upon equity and abstract justice, the Chinese have never accepted as final any settlement achieved by force. Even if the forceful domination of China were momentarily possible, the continuation of this policy would but render more widespread and more intense the resentment with which the "Sons of Han" have come to regard the outside world. The overthrow of foreign control would be delayed for a brief period, but, in the end, the overthrow would prove far more of a catastrophe—both for China and for the West—than the present voluntary abandonment of that control by the powers.

For America and for the other Western powers, the time has come when a policy of frank and unqualified equal treatment for China as a member of the "family of nations" cannot, with safety, be long delayed. Force can lead but to disaster. Even if an appeal to force should meet with temporary success, the armed domination of China must soon end, and such temporary success would have been gained at the price of incalculable future loss. To-day the resentment of the Chinese toward the Western aggressors can be allayed by a reversal of the policies which have given rise to this feeling, with little damage to the essential interests of the Western world. If the Western governments fail to appreciate the situation, and delay in meeting the nationalistic demands of the Chinese people, the present popular resentment may easily reach an intensity which will lead to the catastrophic destruction of all the foreign interests which have grown up within the country during the last hundred years.

THE "SAN MIN" PRINCIPLES AS ENUNCIATED BY DR. SUN YAT-SEN

(Continued from Page 2)

called representative governments are often not truly representative of the people, but have only become the tools by which the capitalists may exploit the laboring classes or the common people. The people's rights of the Kuomintang, however, are enjoyed by all the people, and their possession is not restricted to a few privileged classes of the community.

It must be further pointed out that these people's rights stand in an entirely separate category from the so-called "natural rights" of mankind, they exist only in consequence of the actual needs of the present revolutionary cause in China. For the people's rights of a Republic can only be enjoyed by the people of the republic, and cannot be given to the people who are opposed to the republic who may use them to work directly against her interests.

In other words, all those individuals or organizations who are sincerely opposed to imperialism may enjoy all these people's rights, and all the individuals or organizations which are playing traitors to the nation, or which are working in the interests of the imperialists and militarists will have their rights curtailed.

People's Living

(3) Minsheng principle, or principle of the people's living. The principle of people's living includes two essential points: first, the equalization of land ownership, and secondly, the regulation of capitalism.

The greatest cause for the economic inequality in a society is the ownership of land by a few who control it for their private interests. Hence it is necessary for the state to establish statutes regulating the ownership of land and the collection of land tax. The land which is owned by private individuals should be assessed and reported to the Government, which will levy the tax according to the value of the land, and if necessary, buy it from the private owners at the reported price. This is the essence of the principle of equalization of land-ownership.

State-Owned Industries

Big industries which partake of the nature of a monopoly or are of such dimensions as to exceed the power of individual investment are, for instance, banks, railways, and steamship lines, whether they are Chinese or foreign owned should be managed by the state. This is done in order that private capitalists may have no power of interfering with the normal economic life of the people. This is the essence of the principle of regulation of capitalism.

If the two principles are successfully carried out, the economic life of the people will have been placed on a sound and dependable basis.

For The Farmers

But there is a special point to which we should like to call the attention of the farmers, China has been, and still is, an agricultural nation, and yet of all the classes, it is the agricultural people who are suffering the most. To those farmers who have been deprived of their land and are forced to work as tenants of landlords, the state will provide land for their cultivation. Irrigation systems will be provided to help their labor and colonization schemes will be put on foot to help the farmers who are without land of their own.

Farmers' banks will be established to help those who are in need of capital or who are toiling under the burden of interminable debts. Thus the farmers will be able to enjoy the natural pleasures of human life.

For The Laborers

To the laborers also, the Kuomintang has something special to say. For the laborers of China have been working without protection from the Government. The Kuomintang believes that for the unemployed the state should make proper provisions to help them toward their maintenance.

Especially important will be the passing of labour laws to improve the conditions of the laborers. Other systems for the relief of the aged, the care of the children, the providing of pensions for the disabled and the popularization of education, which all help to relieve the conditions of the less fortunate classes, will be also attended to by the Party.

(Continued on page 4)